

THE
NATIONAL
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

EDITED BY

EDWARD I. SEARS, A. M.

VOL. VII. No. XIV. SEPTEMBER, 1863.

"Pulchrum est bene facere reipublice, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est."

NEW YORK:
EDWARD I. SEARS, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR,
No. 42 BIBLE HOUSE.

GENERAL AGENTS.

NEW YORK: SINCLAIR TOUSEY, 121 NASSAU STREET. BOSTON: A. WILLIAMS & CO., 100 WASHINGTON STREET, and PATRICK DONAHUE, 23 FRANKLIN STREET. PHILADELPHIA: JAMES K. SIMON, (SUCCESSOR TO JOHN MCFARLAN,) 23 SOUTH SIXTH STREET.
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1863.

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GRAND, SQUARE AND UPRIGHT

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Are now acknowledged the best instruments in America, as well as Europe, having taken **26 First Premiums, Gold and Silver Medals**, at the Principal Fairs held in this country within the last seven years; and in addition thereto, they were awarded a

FIRST PRIZE MEDAL,

AT THE

Great International Exhibition

IN LONDON, 1862,

For powerful, clear, brilliant and sympathetic tone, with excellence of workmanship, as shown in Grand and Square Piano.

There were 269 Pianos from all parts of the world entered for competition, and the special correspondent of the *Times* says:

"Messrs. Steinways' endorsement by the jurors is emphatic, and stronger and more to the point, than that of any European maker."

This great triumph of American Piano-Fortes in England has caused a sensation in musical circles throughout the Continent, and, as a result, the Messrs. Steinway are in constant receipt of orders from Europe, thus inaugurating a new phase in the history of

AMERICAN PIANO-FORTES,

by creating in them an article of export. Every Piano-Forte warranted for five years. Warerooms,

Nos. 82 and 84 WALKER STREET,

Near Broadway,

NEW YORK.



MANHATTAN COLLEGE,

MANHATTANVILLE, NEW YORK.

Under the direction of the Brothers of the Christian Schools.

This Institution, incorporated and empowered to confer Degrees, by the Regents of the University of the State of New York, offers many advantages to further the physical, moral and intellectual development of Students. It occupies an elevated site on the east bank of the Hudson, about eight miles from the City of New York. The position is not less remarkable for its salubrity than for the delightful scenery by which it is surrounded.

Although the regular Preparatory School of the College is the De La Salle Institute, 46 Second Street, New York, another has been established at the College for the benefit of those who wish to send their children to the Institution at an early age.

COURSE OF STUDIES.

PREPARATORY.

Spelling, Reading, Writing; Geography—ancient and modern; Grammar; Arithmetic—intellectual and practical; History—sacred and United States; Composition, Elocution; Algebra—elementary; Geometry—plane; Synonymes; Latin—Grammar, Exercises, Epitome Historiae Sacrae, Caesar—two books; Greek—Grammar, Exercises—Jacob's Reader; French—Fasquelle's Introductory Course; German—Adler's Ollendorff; Spanish, Music, Religious Instruction.

COMMERCIAL.

Penmanship, Grammar, Epistolary Correspondence, Composition; Arithmetic—practical and higher; Book Keeping, Mensuration, History.

Students of this department may attend lessons in the Scientific Course.

SCIENTIFIC.

English Literature, Rhetoric, Logic, History, Elocution, Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, Chemistry, Geology, Algebra—higher; Geometry—solid and spherical; Trigonometry, Surveying, Navigation, Analytical Geometry, Calculus, Astronomy; Geometrical Draughting, Descriptive Geometry, Mechanics, Engineering, Natural Philosophy, Physiology, Botany, National and Constitutional Law, German, French.

Students who pass satisfactory Examination in the whole Course, will receive the Degree of Bachelor of Science.

COLLEGIATE.

English Literature, Rhetoric, Logic, History, Elocution, Intellectual and Moral Philosophy; Chemistry, Natural Philosophy, Geology, Algebra—higher; Geometry—solid and spherical; Trigonometry, Surveying, Navigation, Analytical Geometry, Calculus, Astronomy; Physiology, Botany, Latin, Greek, Roman and Grecian Antiquities; National and Constitutional Law.

ELECTIVE STUDIES.—French, German, Spanish, Drawing, Music.

Music, Drawing, Spanish, German, and use of apparatus in the study of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy, form extra charges.

TERMS:

Payments to be made Half-Yearly in Advance.

Board, Washing, and Tuition, per Session of 10½ months.....	\$200 00
Entrance Fee	10 00
Graduation Fee.....	10 00
Vacation at College.....	20 00

School-books furnished at wholesale prices.

No deduction for absence, except in case of protracted illness or dismissal.

The pocket money of the students is deposited with the Treasurer.

Each Student should be provided with four suits; a sufficient number of shirts, socks, handkerchiefs, towels and napkins; a knife, fork, spoon, goblet, combs, brushes, &c. All these can be had at the College, provided a sum, sufficient to meet the expenses, be placed in the hands of the Treasurer.

The Session commences on the first Monday in September, and ends about the 15th of July.

A Public Examination of the Students is held at the end of the Session, and Gentlemen are invited to examine the Students then, and also during the class hours of term-time.

FRÈRE PATRICE, *President.*

DEVLIN & CO.,**BOYS' AND CHILDREN'S CLOTHING,**

The Largest and Choicest Assortment in the City—Now Ready.

ROBES DE CHAMBRE, FOR GENTLEMEN.

Travelling Shirts for Boys, Travelling Shirts for Men,
OF FINE FRENCH CASSIMERE, VERY HEAVY.

A NEW AND SUPERIOR ARTICLE.

THE AMERICAN YOKE SHIRT

Is a New and Valuable Improvement, and GREATLY SUPERIOR to all others in the essential matters of Ease, ELEGANCE AND DURABILITY.

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Corner Broadway and Grand Street,

Where we have also an extensive well-appointed

MERCHANT TAILORING DEPARTMENT,

With an entire new stock of all the latest styles of

CLOTHS, CASSIMERES, VESTINGS, &c.,

Suitable for the

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OUR

READY-MADE DEPARTMENT,

First Floor, is extensively stocked with

Men's, Boys', and Children's Clothing

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FURNISHING GOODS.

We intend that no stock in the city shall compare with it, for taste, variety, and cheapness.

Families will please make a note of this.

For the convenience of our down-town customers, we intend to keep our store at the

CORNER OF BROADWAY AND WARREN

Extensively and tastefully stocked with all descriptions of seasonable

READY-MADE CLOTHING, AT RETAIL.

And our Merchant Tailoring Department here will not be second either in point of stock, or in the taste and talent of the cutters who have charge of it.

DEVLIN & CO.,

**Corner Broadway and Grand,
and Corner Broadway and Warren Street.**

LORD & TAYLOR,

461, 463, 465 and 467 Broadway,

255, 257, 259 and 261 Grand Street,

and 47 and 49 Catharine Street,

ARE OFFERING AT WHOLESALE AND RETAIL THEIR LARGE AND
ELEGANT STOCK OF

FASHIONABLE

AUTUMN AND WINTER

DRY GOODS,

INCLUDING

Rich Silks, Dress Goods, Shawls, Mantillas,

Laces, Embroideries, Linens, &c., &c., &c.

ALSO, AT THE GRAND STREET STORE ONLY,

CARPETINGS,

CURTAIN MATERIALS,

Lace Curtains, Gilt Cornices, Window Shades,

&c., &c., &c.

Purchasers are requested to examine this stock, which will be
found very desirable, and at least 25 per cent.

BELOW USUAL PRICES.

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EATON'S COMPLETE SERIES, ADAPTED TO THE BEST MODE OF INSTRUCTION.

THE FULL SERIES COMPRISES

- I. Eaton's Primary Arithmetic.**
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THIS SERIES IS DISTINGUISHED BY

1. The thorough and scientific manner in which all the principles are developed and illustrated.
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THE PRIMARY ARITHMETIC

Follows the same general plan, improved, which has made COLBURN'S FIRST LESSONS the leading system in mental arithmetic, for the last quarter of a century. It is designed essentially to be a *Primary Book*, and to render the subject of numbers ATTRACTIVE and EASY for BEGINNERS.

THE INTELLECTUAL ARITHMETIC.

This is a new Mental Arithmetic, for advanced classes, on the above plan. While it will retain the excellencies of the system of WARREN COLBURN, it will contain the improvements in teaching developed since his time.

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Is a complete text-book on the subject of Written Arithmetic, designed for use in all COMMON and GRAMMAR Schools.

THE NEW TREATISE ON WRITTEN ARITHMETIC

Is the most thorough and scientific treatise on this subject which has ever appeared. The accurate style of reasoning, and the philosophical arrangement and development of topics has gained for this book a large circulation. It is designed for Grammar and High Schools, and Academies.

These books have the *unqualified* recommendation of the most prominent educators.

This Series of Arithmetics is used in all the Public Schools of the City of Boston, and is rapidly achieving a wide circulation throughout the New England States and the West. They have recently been adopted for the whole State of CALIFORNIA.

Copies furnished for examination on receipt of postage. PRIMARY, four cents, INTELLECTUAL, eight cents, COMMON SCHOOL and TREATISE, sixteen cents each.

Address.

TAGGARD & THOMPSON,
Publishers, 29 Cornhill, Boston.

NEW BOOKS

TO BE PUBLISHED IN THE AUTUMN OF 1863, BY

TICKNOR & FIELDS, BOSTON.

Messrs. TICKNOR & FIELDS will issue during the present Autumn the following new works:

IN SEPTEMBER.

- THE AMBER GODS, AND OTHER STORIES.** By HARRIET E. PRESCOTT. 1 vol. 16mo. Cloth. Bevelled boards and gilt top. \$1.50.
PHILIP VAN ARTEVELDE. By HENRY TAYLOR. A New Edition. 1 vol. 32mo. Blue and Gold. \$1.40.
A HISTORY OF SPANISH LITERATURE. By GEORGE TICKNOR. An entirely new edition, with revisions and additions, and a complete Index. 3 vols. 12mo. Cloth. \$5.00.
OUR OLD HOME. A Series of English Sketches. By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. 1 vol. 16mo. Cloth. Uniform with Hawthorne's Writings. \$1.25.
METHODS OF STUDY IN NATURAL HISTORY. By LOUIS AGASSIZ. With numerous illustrations. 1 vol. 16mo. Cloth. \$1.25.
GALA DAYS. By GAIL HAMILTON, author of "Country Living and Country Thinking." 1 vol. 16mo. Cloth. Bevelled boards and red edges. \$1.50.
FREEDOM AND WAR. Discourses upon Topics connected with the Times. By HENRY WARD BEECHER. 1 vol. 12mo. Cloth. \$1.50.

IN OCTOBER.

- MEDITATIONS ON LIFE AND ITS RELIGIOUS DUTIES.** Translated by FREDERICK ROWAN, from the German of ZSCHOKKE, author of "Meditations on Death and Eternity." 1 vol. 16mo. Cloth. \$1.25.
LEVANA: or, The Doctrine of Education. By JEAN PAUL FRIEDRICH RICHTER, author of "Titan." 1 vol. 16mo. Cloth. Bevelled boards and gilt top. \$1.50.
SOUNDINGS FROM THE ATLANTIC. By OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES. 1 vol. 16mo. \$1.25.
DIE LEIBGARDE. (The Story of the Guard, German Edition.) 1 vol. Paper, 50 cents. Cloth, 75 cents.
IN WAR TIME, AND OTHER POEMS. By JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER. 1 vol. 16mo. Cloth.
MENTAL HYGIENE. By I. RAY, M.D., Superintendent of the Butler Hospital, Providence, R. I. 1 vol. 16mo.
FLOWER, FRUIT, AND THORN PIECES. By JEAN PAUL FRIEDRICH RICHTER, author of "Titan." A new edition, with Portrait of Richter. 2 vols. 16mo. Cloth. Bevelled boards and gilt top. \$2.75.
EXCURSIONS IN FIELD AND FOREST. By HENRY D. THOREAU, author of "Walden." 1 vol. 16mo. Cloth. \$1.25.

IN NOVEMBER.

- REMAINS IN PROSE AND VERSE.** By ARTHUR HENRY HALLAM. 1 vol. 16mo. Cloth. Bevelled boards and gilt top. \$1.50.
ANGEL VOICES. An entirely new and much enlarged edition, beautifully printed on tinted paper, and richly bound. 1 vol. small 4to. \$2.00.
HOUSEHOLD FRIENDS. A Book for all Seasons, with Eighteen Portraits on steel. Uniform in size and style with that popular gift book, "Favorite Authors." 1 vol. 12mo. \$3.00.
SHAKESPEARE SONNETS. A new and beautiful edition, printed on tinted paper, and handsomely bound. 1 vol. small 4to.
LOOKING TOWARD SUNSET. By MRS. LYDIA MARIA CHILD. With Illustrations. 1 vol. 12mo.
THE WAYSIDE INN, and Other Poems. By HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW. Uniform with Longfellow's Works. 1 vol. 16mo. Cloth. \$1.00.
A NEW VOLUME OF POEMS. By ROBERT BROWNING. 1 vol. 16mo. Cloth.
A NEW VOLUME OF ESSAYS AND ADDRESSES. By R. W. EMERSON. 1 vol. 16mo. Cloth.

OFFICE OF THE Mercantile Mutual Insurance Co., No. 35 Wall Street.

NEW YORK, January 13th, 1863.

The following Statement of the affairs of the Company on the 31st December, 1862, is submitted in accordance with the provisions of the Charter:

Premiums not marked off December 31st, 1861.....\$ 186,929 66
do. on Policies issued from Dec. 31st, 1861, to Dec. 31st, 1862 1,069,194 23

Total Premiums..... \$1,256,123 89

Premiums marked off as earned December 31st, 1862.....\$1,044,005 09
Less Returns of Premium..... 59,348 30

Net Earned Premiums.....\$984,656 79

Marine and Inland Losses during the same period, (including estimate of losses not adjusted).....\$633,422 58
Re-insurance, expenses and bad debts, (less interest received on Investments)..... 122,608 80
Interest paid to Stockholders for July dividend, together with interest on Stock payable in January, 1863, and interest on outstanding Scrip, payable in February next... 69,807 80 \$825,839 18

\$158,817 61

The Company had, on the 31st Dec., 1862, the following Assets:

Bonds and Mortgages.....\$ 11,000 00
United States, State, City and other Securities..... 519,370 00
Loans on Stocks and other Securities..... 65,440 00
Cash on hand and in Bank..... 138,011 07
Cash in hands of Foreign Bankers..... 76,862 10
Bills Receivable and uncollected Premiums..... 559,673 03
Salvages and sundry Claims due the Company, and Scrip..... 65,975 86
Interest on Securities due at above date and not collected..... 2,800 00

\$1,438,232 06

The Board of Trustees have resolved to pay an interest of *Six per cent.* on the outstanding certificates of Profits to the holders thereof, or their legal representatives, on and after Monday, the 9th of February next.

They have also declared a dividend of *Seven per cent.* to the Stockholders, payable in cash, on and after Monday, the 9th of February next.

The Trustees have also declared a dividend of *Seventeen per cent.* on the net earned premiums, for the year ending 31st December, 1862, to be issued to the dealers in scrip, on and after Monday, the 6th of April next.

T R U S T E E S .

JOSEPH WALKER,
JAMES FREELAND,
SAMUEL WILLETS,
ROBERT L. TAYLOR,
WILLIAM T. FROST,
WILLIAM WATT,
HENRY EVRE,
CORNELIUS GRINNELL,
E. E. MORGAN,
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WILLIAM BOYD,
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A. WM. HUYE,
HAROLD DOLLNER,
PAUL N. SPOFFORD.

ELLWOOD WALTER, President.
CHAS. NEWCOMB, Vice-President.

C. J. DESPARD, Secretary.

OFFICE OF THE

Columbian Marine Insurance Co.,

CORNER OF WALL AND NASSAU STREETS.

Cash Capital, \$1,000,000.

Total Assets, June 2, 1863, Less Losses Adjusted and Paid, . \$2,008,651.03.

Losses Paid in Gold upon Risks on which the Premium is paid
in like Currency.

DEALERS with this Company will be allowed the option (to be signified at the time of application for insurance) of receiving in lieu of scrip, at the end of each year, Returns in Cash, of premiums paid and earned during the year, upon all new risks under the New York form of policy, as follows:

1st. Upon every OPEN policy (CARGO RISKS) upon which there shall have been earned and paid \$300 and upwards, a return of TWENTY PER CENT.

2d. Upon other voyage risks upon CARGO and FREIGHT, a return of FIFTEEN PER CENT.

3d. Upon TIME risks upon HULLS and FREIGHT, a return of TEN PER CENT.

Such privilege, however, being confined to persons and firms the aggregate of whose premiums upon such policies earned and paid during the year shall amount to the sum of One Hundred Dollars.

DIRECTORS.

EDWARD ROWE.....	OF	C. Dord & Co.
JOHN S. DICKERSON.....	"	Dickerson, Reed & Co.
GEORGE MILN.....	"	"
ROBERT S. HOLT.....	"	Holt & Co.
THOMAS A. C. COCHANE.....	"	"
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ALBERT G. LEE.....	"	Coffin, Lee & Co.
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WILLIAM B. OGDEN.....	"	BUFFALO
JOHN ARMSTRONG.....	"	President N. Western Railroad Co., "
WILLIAM YOUNG.....	"	President Milwaukee Co. Bank, MILWAUKEE
ANDREW J. REIT.....	"	Vice-President "
DANIEL W. TELLER.....	"	President Bank of Attica, BUFFALO
JOS. MORRISON.....	"	Galwey, Casado & Teller.
WILLIAM H. POPHAM.....	"	"
DAVID OGDEN.....	"	Popham & Haxton
B. C. MORRIS, JR.....	"	"
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THOMAS LORD.....	"	Wilson & Cammann
LAWRENCE MYERS.....	"	"
CHARLES A. LORD.....	"	Lawrence Myers & Co.
ROBERT BOWNE.....	"	"
JOHN D. BATES, JR.....	"	Bowne & Co.
MOSES MERICK.....	"	Bates & Co., BOSTON.
DAVID J. ELY.....	"	OSWEGO
	"	Reynolds, Ely & Co., CHICAGO

B. C. MORRIS, President.**WM. M. WHITNEY,****THOS. LORD, Vice-President**

2d Vice-President and Secretary.

EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

New York Life Insurance Company.

Amount of assets January 1, 1862.....	\$2,146,767.03
Amount of Premiums, Endowments, Annuities and Policy Fees received during 1862.....	\$759,567.58
Amount of Interest received and accrued.....	134,713.41— 891,280.99
Total.....	\$3,941,948.02

DISBURSEMENTS.

Paid for losses by death.....	\$169,297.32
Paid for Redemption of Dividends, Interest on Dividends, An- nuities, and Surrendered and Cancelled Policies.....	151,605.58
Paid Sanitary Commission and War Contribution.....	325.00
Paid for Taxes and Internal Revenue Stamps.....	3,098.24
Paid for Salaries, and Fees to Physicians and Trustees.....	29,126.92
Paid for Printing, Stationery, Advertising, Office Expenses, Express Charges, &c.....	17,822.34
Paid for Commissions and Agency Expenses.....	79,426.55
Reduction in value of Real Estate.....	4,000.00 454,801.95
	\$2,586,246.07

ASSETS.

Cash in Bank.....	\$41,241.94
Invested in Securities created under the laws of the State of New York and of the United States.....	721,051.79
Real Estate owned by the Company.....	130,217.07
Bonds and Mortgages at 7 per cent. interest.....	438,910.00
Premium Notes on existing Policies drawing interest.....	841,725.54
Premiums due and unpaid on Policies now in force.....	208,132.23
Quarterly and semi-annual Premiums due subsequent to Jan. 1, 1863.....	69,397.43
Interest accrued to Jan. 1, 1863.....	45,565.38
Rents accrued to Jan. 1, 1863.....	2,553.36
Premiums on Policies in hands of agents and in course of trans- mission.....	66,578.75
Amount of all other property belonging to the Company.....	872.58
	\$2,586,246.07

The Trustees have declared a scrip dividend of 35 per cent. upon all participating Life Policies, now in force, which were issued twelve months prior to Jan. 1, 1863, and a payment in cash on and after the first Monday in March next, of the Third Installment of 20 per cent. upon dividends heretofore declared from 1859 to 1860, inclusive, to those holding certificates upon presentation at the Home Office. Those having credits will be allowed the same upon their notes at the settlement of next premium.

TRUSTEES:

MORRIS FRANKLIN,
JOHN M. NIXON,
JOHN S. BUSSING,
DAVID DOWS,
DANIEL S. MILLER,
WILLIAM BARTON,
WILLIAM C. DUSENBURY,
JOHN E. WILLIAMS,
HENRY K. BOGERT.

ISAAC C. KENDALL,
JOHN L. ROGERS,
JOHN MAIRS,
WILLIAM PATRICK,
LORING ANDREWS,
RUSSELL DART,
WM. H. APPLETON,
ROBERT B. COLLINS,
PLINY FREEMAN.

MORRIS FRANKLIN, President.
WILLIAM H. BEERS, Cashier.

PLINY FREEMAN, Actuary.

COLLEGE

OF THE

HOLY CROSS,

WORCESTER, MASS.

This College was founded by the Rt. Rev. BENEDICT JOSEPH FENWICK, Bishop of Boston, in the year 1843, and by him given to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. The location is remarkably healthy. Ninety-six acres of land are attached to the College. It stands on Bogachong, or Hill of Pleasant Springs, within two miles of the City of Worcester, and commands an extensive view of the beautiful country around. The water is abundant and of the first quality, the playgrounds are spacious, and afford facilities for healthful amusements at all seasons.

After the usual course of Arithmetic and Book Keeping, the Students, according to their proficiency and capacity, are placed in different classes of Mathematics.

There are three classes of French, in which the Students are distributed according to their abilities.

There are two semi-annual examinations. If, at the first examination, any one be found to have sufficiently improved, he is promoted to a higher class. Such promotion will be equivalent to the honors of the class left.

Candidates for the degree of *Bachelor of Arts* are required to undergo an examination in Intellectual, Moral, and Natural Philosophy, before the Faculty of the College. *They must, besides, have pursued the regular classical course.*

Careful attention is bestowed on the religious and moral training of the Students, who, even in hours of recreation, are under the special superintendence of Prefects or Disciplinaryans.

Books, Papers, Periodicals, &c., are not allowed circulation among the Students, without having been previously revised by one of the Faculty.

Whilst the moral and intellectual culture of the youths committed to our care is attended to, with all assiduity, their physical development is by no means neglected. A Ball Alley and Gymnasium occupy a portion of the ordinary play-grounds; the numerous hills and lakes in the vicinity afford, during the winter months, every opportunity for skating and coasting. The Blackstone River, which runs within a few hundred yards of the College, offers safe and delightful bathing places. The Farm attached presents ample range for the indulgence of Foot Ball and Cricket games, at their proper seasons. These innocent amusements, added to the healthfulness of the climate and location, work wonders in our Students, many of whom enter with pale cheeks and sickly frames, but invariably depart in buoyant spirits and flushed with health.

Each Student must be supplied with, at least, two suits of daily wear, and one for Sundays: six shirts, six pairs of stockings, six pocket-handkerchiefs, six towels, two or three cravats, &c.; two or three pairs of boots or shoes, an overcoat or cloak. Each Student must be provided with a silver table-spoon, marked with his name.

Reports will be sent to Parents or Guardians, to inform them of the application, conduct, and progress of their Sons or Wards. Also, regular accounts, *in advance*, for Board and Tuition. It is earnestly requested that immediate remittances be made, to the full amount.

The Collegiate year commences on the first Monday of September, but Students are received at any period of the year. Applicants from other Institutions will not be received without testimonials as to character and conduct, from the Principal of the Institution which they last attended.

The object of the Institution is to prepare youths for a *Professional* or for a *Commercial* state of life.

T E R M S :

For board, tuition, washing and mending linen and stockings, per annum, (of ten months,) payable half-yearly, in advance.....	\$155 00
For Physician's fee, per annum.....	3 00
Fuel for the winter.....	5 00

Modern Languages and Music at the Professors' charges.

For further particulars, address

JAMES CLARK, S. J., President.

LAW SCHOOL

OF THE

University of Albany.

This School has now THREE TERMS A YEAR. The FIRST commences on the FIRST TUESDAY of September, the SECOND on the LAST TUESDAY of November, and the THIRD on the FIRST TUESDAY of March, each term continuing twelve weeks.

Three successive terms constitute the entire course, and entitle the student to become a candidate for the degree of Bachelor of Laws. Each term is independent and complete as to the instruction embraced in it. The method of teaching is by lecture, examination, and practice in the Moot Courts. Two lectures are given each day except Saturdays, and two Moot Courts held each week, at which causes are first argued by the previously appointed disputants, then discussed and decided by the class, followed by the views of the presiding Professor. Thus the law is taught both as a Science and an Art.

The immense *Law Library of the State* is open to the students, under proper regulations, and all the terms of the *Supreme Court*, and the *Court of Appeals*, the highest Courts of the State, are held in the City of Albany.

The Fee for a single term is \$40, for two terms, \$70, and for three, \$100, each payable in advance. The Professors, and leading topics upon which they lecture, are the following:

HON. IRA HARRIS, LL. D., Practice, Pleadings, Evidence.

HON. AMASA J. PARKER, LL. D., Real Estate, Criminal Law, Personal Rights.

AMOS DEAN, LL. D., Personal Property, Contract, Commercial Law.

Circulars obtained by addressing AMOS DEAN, Albany, N. Y.

HON. REUBEN H. WALWORTH, LL. D., *President*.

ORLANDO MEADS, LL. D., *Secretary*.

The Rutgers Female Institute,

Nos. 435, 437, 439 FIFTH AVENUE,
NEW YORK.

The ninety-eighth Academic Term will begin September 9th, 1863. The Institute embraces

THREE DEPARTMENTS,

The Preparatory, Academic, and Collegiate.

THE DEPARTMENTS OF

MUSIC, DRAWING, AND PAINTING, AND THE LANGUAGES,

Form a part of the School organization.

TWO COURSES OF LECTURES

Will be delivered during the term. One on the

"EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY,"

By **Rev. Dr. ASA D. SMITH;**

The other by

Prof. JAMES HYATT,

ON THE SUBJECT OF

CHEMISTRY.

The Post-Graduate Course of Instruction of Rutgers Institute will commence Wednesday, the 14th October next, and, as at present decided upon, will embrace:

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- ART. I.—1. *Reports of various Hospitals for the Insane in the United States up to the Present Time.*
2. *Report by Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State of Lunatic Asylums in Scotland and the existing Law in reference to Lunatics and Lunatic Asylums in that part of the United Kingdom. With an Appendix presented to both Houses of Parliament, by command of Her Majesty.* 1857.
3. *Traité Médico-Philosophique sur l'Aliénation Mentale; ou la Manie.* Par PH. PINEL, Professeur de l'École de Médecine de Paris.
4. *Report of the Metropolitan Commissioners in Lunacy to the Lord Chancellor. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty.* London. 1844.
5. *Traité des Maladies Mentales.* Par M. MOREL. Paris. 1852.
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SINCE the beginning of the present century the diseases of the mind have engaged the attention of the most eminent physicians and most distinguished psychologists of Europe and America. If the results obtained thus far are not all that might have been expected, it is undeniable that they are of great value, and well calculated to encourage still more earnest and profound research in the same field. This would have been sufficiently evident had nothing further been accomplished than those great improvements in the treatment of the insane, which are of too important a nature to have escaped the observation of the most thoughtless philanthropist. To understand this, it is only necessary to compare the institutions of the present day, designed for those laboring under mental diseases, with those bearing the same name of only one century ago; for it

will be seen that in the most important points of view the difference amounts to a contrast.

Except in rare instances, the insane are no longer treated as if they were criminals devoid of all feeling, physical as well as mental; they are no longer chained in filthy dungeons, beaten, and exposed to the severest cold, as if they were wild beasts; but on the contrary, every means that scientific skill and philanthropy can devise is exercised to contribute to their comfort and welfare, and finally to restore them to health, if such seems possible. So far as we have been able to form an opinion from personal visits to a considerable number of asylums, both in Europe and America, and from careful inquiry and observation, this is undoubtedly the character of most of the institutions for the insane of the present day. We need hardly observe that the exceptions consist of those instances in which ignorance, pretension and avarice occasionally manage to take the place of intelligence, integrity and philanthropy; and there are but few possessed of the former qualities who are not also overbearing and tyrannical to those whose misfortune it is to be placed in their charge. We have data enough within our reach to illustrate these facts, but let us first take a retrospective glance at the progress made in ameliorating the condition of the insane. Although we of the present age may claim much credit for this great improvement in the treatment of mental diseases, we should be careful not to claim too much; but this is what we are most likely to do. Indeed, in no other instance are the people of the present day more disposed to boast of what they have accomplished. We would not, however, apply any harsh terms to such a feeling; the pride of having done good is a noble pride, even when our notions of it are founded in error. Who, for example, would utter any unkind denunciation against the good-natured but credulous old lady who is delighted with the thought of having effected a cure which had failed the most eminent physicians, and thereby alleviated a certain amount of human suffering? But if our strictures should not be severe in such a case, we ought at least to undeceive others to the best of our ability, since to avoid doing so is to aid in propagating error.

The prevailing mistake is, that because the insane were badly treated not only in the dark ages, but for centuries after—indeed, within a period which extends very nearly to our own time—it follows that they had always been treated, and by all nations, in a similar manner. We have not now many treatises written in ancient times on the treatment of the insane; but this is no proof that such did not exist. It is well to bear in mind that many valuable modern treatises have been lost,

notwithstanding the facility of multiplying copies afforded by the art of printing. Besides, no fact is better attested than that many valuable scientific treatises of various kinds have been destroyed by plagiarists having an ambition to be regarded as original writers, inventors and discoverers. But whatever may be said of the destruction of ancient treatises on insanity, no intelligent person will deny that the ancients were well acquainted with the phenomena of intellectual disease. In the earliest records, whether sacred or profane, now extant, we find proof of this. Different kinds of mental disease are alluded to in one form or other in almost every book in the Bible. But it will be sufficient to refer here to an instance or two. Thus, we are told in the first book of Samuel, (xvi., 13,) that David feigned madness before Achish, King of Gath; and we are also told that he alleviated the fits of insanity to which Saul was subject by his skilful playing on the harp. At a still earlier period, we find Moses threatening the Israelites with "madness and blindness, and astonishment of heart" for their transgressions.—(Deut., xxviii., 28.) In the Vedas of the Hindoos, in the writings of Confucius, the Chinese philosopher, and in those of the most ancient of the Persian Magi, not only are mental diseases referred to, but also institutions for their treatment. More than one passage in the Puranas of the Brahmans alludes to hospitals said to be established at Benares, at the public expense, for the cure of insanity. Prof. Bachmann, of Berlin, in a curious work on Persian Antiquities, informs us that there were asylums for the insane established at Bagdad, under the care of experienced and skilful physicians, so early as the time of Darius.* None who have properly investigated the subject doubt any longer that insanity was scientifically treated by those Egyptian priests who were the possessors of all the knowledge existing in their time. So far as we know, it was they who first discovered the soothing influence of music in the treatment of the insane. Be this as it may, it is now beyond doubt that they threw open the sacred temples of Saturn for the benefit of those laboring under melancholia. "Whatever gifts of nature," says Pinel, "or productions of art were calculated to impress the imagination, were there united to the solemnities of a splendid and imposing superstition. Games and recreations were instituted in the temples. The most voluptuous productions of the painter and the statuary were exposed to public view. Groves and gardens surrounded those holy retreats, and invited the *distracted* devotee to *refreshing* and *salubrious exercise*. Gaily-decorated boats sometimes transport-

* See *Recherches sur la Mélancolie*. Par M. Andry, t. i., p. 185.

ed him to breathe amidst rural concerts the purer breezes of the Nile. In short, all his time was taken up by some pleasurable occupation, or rather by a system of diversified amusements, enhanced and sanctioned by superstition."^{*}

We have sufficient evidence that the Egyptian mode of treatment was introduced into Greece at the earliest period of the history of the latter country—most probably before the time of Pythagoras—one of whose most profound works was a treatise on insanity. Celsus not only mentions several Greek philosophers who wrote treatises on the diseases of the mind, but in various instances he gives an abstract of their modes of treatment. Thus, for example, he tells us that the remedies chiefly relied upon by Asclepiades, who was a very eminent physician, were "music, love, and wine, and employment exercising the memory and fixing the attention." We are told that the same physician "recommended that *bodily restraint should be avoided as much as possible, and that none but the most dangerous should be confined by bonds.*"[†] We have taken pains to note these facts—the records of thousands of years ago—whose authenticity is indisputable, because, as already intimated, it is so much the fashion at the present day to claim the honor of having first treated insanity in any intelligent or humane manner for this or that Frenchman, Englishman, or German. Had we not a single Greek sentence extant on the subject, we should find evidence enough in the works of the ancient Romans to prove that the Greeks had been abundantly familiar with the treatment of mental diseases. The testimony of the great Roman orator alone would be quite sufficient on this point; and we need only refer to the third book of his *Tusculan Disputations*, in which the whole question is discussed in his happiest style. Cicero explains exactly the extent of mental disease which, according to the laws of the Twelve Tables, deprived a man of the charge of his own property; and shows that the terms used by the Romans to express the different kinds of mental disease were much more appropriate than those used by the Greeks for the same purpose. That the moderns are of the same opinion, is sufficiently evident from the fact that, with few exceptions, it is Latin terms that are applied at the present day to every form of disease to which the mind is subject. The term *delirium* employed by the Romans had its origin in the process of ploughing; for when the oxen inclined to one side or the other from the line to be pursued, they were said to be *de lira* from the line, or out of the track. Cicero proceeds to show that *insane* (*insanus*)

^{*} *Nosographie Philosophique*, tom. ii., 28.

[†] Feuchtersleben, *Op. Cit.*, p. 33.

merely meant *unsound*, and shows the difference between insanity, so understood, and fury, or rage. It is sufficient to allude here to these explanations on the part of the distinguished Roman who, above all others, was best qualified to make them; but for the benefit of the classical student, we transcribe an extract from the original at the bottom of the page.* Even in the Roman poets every form of insanity is alluded to; indeed, no physical disease is so often referred to. Horace especially, who may be regarded as the most popular writer of his time, is constantly alluding to insanity, and the manner in which it should be treated. As an illustrative instance, it will be sufficient to call attention to the third satire of his second book of Satires, which is one of the best, most elegant, and most elaborate of his poems. In order to do full justice to the subject, he discusses it in all its bearings in the form of a dialogue alternately between Damasippus and Stertinus, and himself. Thus, Stertinus is made to say, "Whom vicious folly and ignorance of the truth drive blindfold, the gallery and the sect of Chrysippus pronounce mad, (*insanum*.)

* * Now hear why all who have given you the name of madman (*insano*) are equally as mad as you."† The poet then pro-

* "Nec minus illud acute, quod animi affectionem lumine mentis carentem nominaverunt *amentiam*, eandemque *dementiam*. Ex quo intelligendum est, eos, qui hæc rebus nomina posuerunt, sensitisse hoc idem, quod a Socrate acceptum diligenter Stoici retinuerunt, omnes insipientes esse non sanos. Qui est enim animus in aliquo morbo, (morbos autem hos perturbatos motus, ut modo dixi, philosophi appellant,) non magis est sanus, quam id corpus, quod in morbo est. Ita fit, ut sapientia sanitas sit animi, insipientia autem quasi insanitas quedam, quæ est insaniam eandemque dementia; multoque melius hæc notata sunt verbis Latinis quam Græcis, quod aliis quoque multis locis reperietur. Sed id alias; nunc, quod instat. Totum igitur id, quod querimus, quid et quale sit, verbi vis ipsa declarat. Eos enim sanos quoniam intelligi necesse est, quorum mens motu, quasi morbo, perturbata nullo sit; qui contra affecti sint, hos insanos appellari necesse est. Itaque nihil melius, quam quod est in consuetudine sermonis Latini, quum *exisse ex potestate* dicimus eos, qui effrenati feruntur aut libidine aut iracundia; quamquam ipsa iracundia libidinis est pars. Sic enim definitur: iracundia ulciscendi libido. Qui igitur exisse ex potestate dicuntur, ideoque dicuntur, quid non sint in potestate mentis, cui regnum totius animi a natura tributum est. Græci autem *μᾶλιν* unde appellant, non facile dixerunt; eam tamen ipsam distinguimus nos melius quam illi. Hanc enim insaniam, quæ juncta stultitia patet latius, a furore disjungimus. Græci volunt illi quidem, sed parum valent verbo: quem nos furorem, *μελαγχολίαν* illi vocant. Quasi vero atra bili solum mens, ac non sæpe vel iracundia graviore vel timore vel dolore moveatur, quo genere Athamantem, Alceonem, Ajaxem, Orestem facere dicimus. Qui ita sit affectus eum dominum esse rerum suarum vident duodecim tabule. Itaque non est scriptum, *si insanus*, sed, *Si Furiosus* Esctr. Stultitiam enim consuevit, constantia, id est sanitate, vacantem, posse tamen tueri mediocritatem officiorum et vite communem cultum atque usitatum; furorem autem esse rati sunt mentis ad omnia cecitatem. Quod quum majus esse videatur quam insaniam, tamen ejusmodi est, ut furor in sapientem cadere possit, non possit insaniam. Sed hæc alia questio est; nos ad propositum revertamur."—

Disput. Tuscul., lib. iii., cap. v.

† Quem mala stultitia, et quemcumque inscitia veri
Cecum agit, insanum Chrysippi porticus et grex
Autumnat. * * *

Nunc accipe, quare

Desipiant omnes, æque ac tu qui tibi nomen

Insano posuere.

Sat., lib. ii., 3, v., 43, et seq.

ceeds to describe different kind of insanity; and no one who understands the subject will deny the general accuracy and fidelity of his description. "There is one kind of folly which consists in dreading things not at all to be dreaded; so that it complains that fires, rocks, and rivers obstruct it in the plains; there is another kind different from this, but nothing less foolish, that rushes through the middle of fires and rivers. Let an affectionate mother, a faithful sister, a father with relations, or a wife call out, 'Here is a great ditch, here is a terrible precipice, take care!' he will no more hear than formerly drunken Fufius, when he acted Ilione sleeping; two hundred thousand Catiens shouting, 'Mother, I call thee!'"*

In the same poem the satirist shows the difference between simple insanity and rage, or fury; alluding, in passing, to some of the causes which were then, as they are now, supposed to produce mental disease. As already observed, similar allusions are to be met with in the works of all the classic writers. But the details are to be found in Roman jurisprudence, which shows that however much we may boast of our improvements, the best of our lunacy laws are borrowed from those of the Romans. We learn from the same source how much those deceive themselves who think that no legal provision had been made for the care of the insane until our enlightened era. Not only did the government establish hospitals (*valetudinaria*) for the treatment of the insane; but it also appointed curators, who were responsible for the safety and conduct of those placed in their charge. Thus, Dr. Smith tells us, in his "History of Greek and Roman Antiquities," article *Curator*, that "the technical word for a person of unsound mind in the Twelve Tables is *furiosus*, which is equivalent to *demens*; and both words are distinguished from *insanus*. Though *furor* implies violence in conduct, and *dementia* only mental imbecility, there was no legal difference between the two terms, so far as concerned the cura. Insania is merely weakness of understanding, *stultitia constantia*, id est, (*santitate vacans*,) and it was not provided for by the laws of the Twelve Tables. If an agnatus was the curator of a *furiosus*, he had the power of alienating the property of the *furiosus*.

* Est genus unum
 Stultitiae, nihilum metuenda timentis; ut ignes,
 Ut rupes, fluviosque in campo obstare queratur;
 Alterum et huic varium, et nihilo sapientius, ignes
 Per medias, fluviosque mentis: clamat amica
 Mater, honesta soror, cum cognatis, pater, uxor,
 Hic fossa est ingens! hic rupes maxima! serva!
 Non magis auderit, quam Fufius obrius olim,
 Cum Ilionum cernit, Catiens mille ducentis
 Mater, te apello, clamantibus. *Sat.*, lib. ii., 3, 53, et seq.

* * A curator must of course be legally qualified for his functions, and he was bound, when appointed, to accept the duty, unless he had some legal exemption, (*excusatio*.) *The curator was also bound to account at the end of the curatela, and was liable to an action for misconduct.*"*

We need add no further testimony to show that, however important are the improvements made within the last century in the treatment of the insane, and in the general amelioration both of their moral and physical condition, we have no right to claim those improvements as new inventions; and much less should we pretend that no attention, whether for protection or cure, had been paid to the insane, anterior to our era. The truth is, that very little, if anything, has been added to the stock of knowledge left us by the ancient physicians, as to the treatment of insanity. The best modern physicians—especially those who have been most successful in that field—do not hesitate to admit this. At the same time, great credit is due to the intelligent and philanthropic men who seem to have revived all that was good in the old system of the Greeks and Romans for the benefit of all future ages. But it is to the French we must give the chief credit. It is to the scientific skill and philanthropy of Frenchmen the insane, as well as the blind, and the deaf mute, are indebted for the first intelligent and successful efforts made in modern times for the improvement of their condition. For centuries, it had been the habit throughout Europe to imprison all lunatics that seemed to evince any disposition to violence in the common jails. Even such as were placed in hospitals were loaded with manacles, fetters, gyves, hobbles, muzzles, &c. Under the assumption that they were insensible to the ordinary causes of bodily pain, they were treated with incredible barbarities. It was long deemed the best remedy that could be applied, to flog the unfortunate maniacs, while chained like wild beasts in dark, filthy cells. We may infer that public opinion was not much opposed to this practice, revolting as it was, from the fact that the maniacs used to be exhibited in cages for money, and that an additional charge was made for witnessing a flogging.

Such was the condition of lunatics throughout Europe, until the good St. Vincent de Paule, founder of the Foundling Hospital of Paris, undertook to introduce a more humane practice. This ecclesiastic was the first of the moderns who devoted his talents and influence to a reform in the treatment of the insane. He went about from parish to parish, delivering eloquent sermons and addresses, the chief object of which was to obtain sub-

* Smith's Greek and Roman Antiquities, p. 329, Harper's Edition.

scriptions for the hospitals of Bicêtre and Salpêtrière, which have since become so famous as asylums for the insane; and it is pleasant to add that his efforts were attended with great success. Not only was he the means of relieving many sufferers, whose case would have been hopeless without his aid; but his noble example was followed by several others. Soon after, (1786.) M. Ténon, a French physician, published an essay on the condition of the insane, and on the method of treatment likely to promote their recovery. The simple facts contained in this essay were of so startling a character, that it attracted attention throughout Europe. The next effort of any importance made in favor of the insane was that of M. La Rochefoucauld, whose excellent memoir on the subject brought it before the Constituent Assembly of France.

Still the insane continued to wear chains, like felons. It remained for the learned and philanthropic Pinel to strike off these, and inaugurate that system of "moral suasion" which, happily, prevails now in every enlightened country. It is worthy of remark, that this good work was commenced in the middle of the Reign of Terror. We are told that the good physician was struck with the injustice of keeping his unfortunate patients chained in the dungeons of the Bicêtre, while so many hundreds, more mischievously distracted than they, were at large, performing the bloody work of the revolution. The horrible Bedlam of France was the Bastille of all whose misfortune it was to be afflicted with mental disease. More than 300 maniacs were chained in its loathsome cells. But they could not be relieved of their fetters without permission; and to apply for such, at such a time, was dangerous in the extreme. Pinel was not to be prevented from doing good by the fear of danger; and accordingly he entreated the Commune to permit him to make the experiment. That body was first astonished at so strange a proposal, but finally agreed to take it into consideration, and deputed one of their body to visit the hospital, and form an opinion as to the propriety of so novel an undertaking. The deputy and his physician were received by the yells and vociferations of some hundreds of maniacs, with their clanking chains echoing through the damp and dreary vaults of the prison. The deputy turned away with horror, but he permitted Pinel to proceed with his experiment. M. Scipion Pinel, the nephew of the physician, has given an interesting account of what followed, which was read before the Academy of Sciences. "Doctor Pinel," he says, "immediately resolved to liberate fifty of the maniacs by way of experiment, and commenced by unchaining twelve of the most violent. The first man set at liberty was an English captain. He had been forty

years in chains, and his history was forgotten by himself and the world. His keepers approached him with dread; he had killed one of their number with a blow of his manacles. Pinel entered his cell unattended, accosted him in a kind and confiding manner, and told him that it was designed to give him the liberty of walking abroad, on condition that he would put on a waistcoat that might confine his arms. The madman seemed to disbelieve; but he obeyed. His chains were removed, and the door of his cell was left open. Many times he raised himself and fell back; his limbs gave way; they had been ironed for forty years. At length he was able to stand, and to stalk to the door of his dark cell, and to gaze with exclamations of wonder and delight at the beautiful sky. He spent the day in the enjoyment of his newly-acquired privilege; he was no more in bonds; and during the two years of his further detention at Bicêtre, assisted in managing the house. The next man liberated was a soldier, a private in the French guards, who had been ten years in chains, and was an object of general fear. His case had been one of acute mania, occasioned by intemperance—a disorder which often subsides in a short period, under abstinence from intoxicating drinks, unless kept up, as in this case, by improper treatment. When set at liberty, this man willingly assisted Pinel in breaking the chains of his fellow-prisoners; he became immediately calm, and even kind and attentive, and was ever afterwards the devoted friend of his deliverer. In an adjoining cell there were three Prussian soldiers, who had been many years in chains and darkness; through grief and despair they had sunk into a state of stupor and fatuity, the frequent result of similar treatment, and they refused to be removed. Near to them was an old priest, harmless and patient, who fancied himself to be the Saviour of the world. When taunted by his keepers, who used to tell him that if he was Christ he could break the heavy chains that loaded his hands, he replied with solemn dignity: "*Frustrá tentáris Dominum tuum.*" After his release he got rid of his illusion, and recovered the soundness of his mind!*

As in most similar cases, the physicians and philanthropists of England were the first to follow the example thus nobly and successfully given. As for this country, it was then only in its infancy, and therefore could not be expected to rival the veteran nations of the Old World in scientific progress. The oldest institution in England, devoted to the treatment of the insane, was the York Asylum; but it does not seem to have

* *Nosographie Philosophique*. Pinel, tome i., p. 119.

done much good in its palmyest days. The Retreat, founded by the Society of Friends, under the direction of the Duke of York, was the first really good hospital for the insane established in England. This, indeed, was a true *asylum*; the good men who had charge of it deserve, perhaps, quite as much as Vincent de Paule and Pinel, the highest rank among the benefactors of mankind. But it was not until 1808 that any adequate provision was made for the lunatic population of England. The investigation which exposed the disgraceful practices carried on at York Asylum—practices, some of which are too indecent to be even alluded to in these pages—led to a similar exposure of the condition of things at the great Bethlehem, (Bedlam.) Twenty-three years after the reformation of the Bicêtre, by Pinel, it was found that it was the ordinary practice in the Bethlehem Hospital to keep patients, male and female—even those who were but partially insane—chained constantly by arm and leg to the walls of apartments, with no clothing but a blanket. Others were found lying in cold, damp cells, on loose straw covered merely with a rug, and in a most filthy and disgusting state. The case of the unfortunate Norris, who was a patient in the hospital at the time, excited a feeling of indignation and horror throughout Europe and America. Though subject to paroxysms of fury, he was a shrewd, intelligent man in his lucid intervals. As he was, however, much feared as a dangerous madman, Mr. Halsam, who was the apothecary to the asylum, advised his confinement in a double cell; but the committee thought this too simple a mode to deal with him, and accordingly, after due deliberation, gave directions for the construction of an apparatus of iron, under the load of which the unfortunate man was destined to spend the remaining twelve years of his life. "A short iron ring," says Dr. Hitch, "was riveted round his neck, and connected by a short chain to another ring, which was made to slide up and down a massive iron pillar, six feet high; a strong iron bar, two inches wide, was riveted round his body, on each side of which his arms were pinioned down close to his waist; his right leg was chained to the trough on which he was placed."

When it is seen that "treatment" of this kind was the rule rather than the exception, at home as well as abroad, then some adequate opinion may be formed of the importance of the improvements made within the last quarter of a century in the condition of the insane, especially in our own country. Passing over an interval of more than twenty years, during which time the insane had many grievous causes for complaint, but which we have not room even to allude to here, we come to the Report of the Metropolitan Commissioners in Lunacy to

the Lord Chancellor, presented to both Houses of Parliament in 1844. In this there are many statements which it seems difficult to believe, although their general truthfulness and accuracy are beyond dispute. In speaking of the lunatic wards of St. Peter's Hospital, at Bristol, England, the Commissioners say:

"Deficient in every comfort, and almost in every convenience; the rooms being small and ill-ventilated, and some of them almost dark, and the interior of the building altogether out of repair. There was no seat, table, or article of furniture in the women's apartments, and nothing save a table in the men's room. * * The dress of the patients was, in almost every instance, dirty, ragged, and insufficient. One of the female patients pulled off her shoes and stockings, which were nothing more than rags. The Commissioners were informed that there was not a single change of linen (either for the beds or for the person) throughout the asylum. * * The refractory patients were confined in strong chairs, their arms being also fastened to the chair. They were thus confined in small rooms, into which scarcely any light entered through the gratings."

In the same Report the asylum at West Auckland is described as follows:

"In the small, cheerless day-room of the males, with only one window, and that unglassed, five men were restrained by leg-locks, called hobbles, and two were wearing in addition iron handcuffs and fetters from the wrist to the ankle. They were all tranquil. The reason assigned for this coercion was, that without it they would escape. One powerful young man, who had broken his fetters, was heavily ironed, and another was leg-locked and handcuffed, who was under medical treatment and in a weak state. One woman was leg-locked by day and chained to her bed at night. Chains were fastened to the floors in many places, and to many of the bedsteads. The males throughout the house slept two in one bed."

It is proper to observe that this was not one of the government hospitals, but one licensed by the authorities, the law requiring that it would be occasionally visited by the magistrates of the district. How well the latter did their duty may be inferred from the following entry, taken from the day-book of the hospital:

"5th Dec., 1842.

"We this day visited the asylum, and found that the Commissioners had just left it. *We found everything in good order.*"

In their report of the licensed house at Derby, the same Commissioners say: "A lady was found confined in this house, who was represented to be a visitor, and not a patient; but who, upon investigation, was proved to have been brought from another lunatic asylum, where she was a certified patient. Her name was entered in the private account book of the proprietor as a patient, and he had given a certificate that she was confined in his asylum, *for the purpose of authorizing*

her trustee to pay over to her husband dividends to which she was entitled, only a few days previously to the visit of the Commissioners. The magistrates of the borough, who are its visiting justices, had not visited the house for the space of a year minus eight days. This lady had been, during the whole of her residence in this place, from the month of May until October, anxious to see some magistrate, with a view to demand her liberty. She was afterwards liberated upon our remonstrances."*

But there are reports much more recent that exhibit a state of things very nearly, if not quite, as bad as this. Thus, for example, we are told in the Seventh Annual Report of the Commissioners of Lunacy, presented in 1857, in that portion which relates to Amroth Castle, Pembrokeshire, (p. 27.) that, "as in the case of Vernon House, it was found that the stables had been converted, by whitewashing, into wards for pauper patients; * * that the single bedrooms were formed out of the old stalls for horses, and that the male dormitories were in a loft over the stables!" In their Report for 1856, (p. 20.) the same Commissioners speak of the Kingsdown House Asylum as follows: "We are informed by Dr. Nash that he pays about £150 per annum for the good-will of the house, and that a valuation of the patients admitted during the existence of the lease is to be made at its expiration, when a proportionate sum of money is to be paid to Dr. Nash for the cases so admitted. The amount is to be determined by arbitration. * * They (the patients) are by this arrangement made a source of traffic and profit by two parties."

Facts like these, which are beyond all dispute, need no comment; but before turning to the condition of our own asylums during the same period, it is proper to observe that the more recent Reports of the English Commissioners—including the last—give no such sickening details; but, on the contrary, ex-

* Many of our readers will remember that a case pretty similar to this created considerable excitement, some two or three years since, not only in this city, but throughout the country. The victim was a lady of New Orleans, who had been placed by her husband, for reasons best known to himself, in a certain private establishment in the neighborhood of New York, called a Lunatic Asylum. We do not now distinctly remember the circumstances; but, if we are not mistaken, the friends of the lady were obliged to have recourse to a writ of *habeas corpus* before the enterprising and conscientious proprietors of the "Asylum" would part with a boarder who paid so well. This lady, too, had good reason to call the "superintendent" her "keeper."

The case of the New Orleans lady reminds us very forcibly of a passage in the evidence of Sir John McNeill before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, in 1848. In reply to a question from Sir George Clerk, respecting the treatment of lunatics in private, as compared to public institutions, he said: "I have a very serious objection to placing them in private madhouses, with people [that is, persons who call themselves 'superintendents' or 'resident physicians'] who have no interest in taking charge of them, but whose interest it is to feed them as cheaply and cure them as slowly as possible."

hibit various improvements which it is pleasant to contemplate.

In showing how much the improvements made in our own country were needed, we must necessarily be brief. There are many still living who will not be sorry for this; they will rather like it; for there are but few, even of the most tyrannical, who are indifferent to an exposure of their inhumanity, cruelty, and avarice. If such are exposed, however, they always find some pretext to assume an air of injured innocence. If they have no better excuse, they pretend that those making the *exposé* are actuated by the basest motives. Fortunately, in the cases to which we are about to refer there will be no room for accusations against us, since we can only take a passing glance at what others have said on the subject. Nor will we turn to the less enlightened parts of the country for illustrative instances; but, on the contrary, take them from Massachusetts, which is confessedly the most intelligent state in the Union. We shall also avoid all foreign testimony; in other words, we will allow Massachusetts writers to give their impressions of their own institutions. Thus, in the number of the *North American Review* for January, 1843, there is an article entitled "Insanity in Massachusetts," which is evidently that of a person who had carefully investigated the subject, and had no motive in detailing the facts but to tell the truth, and thereby relieve a large amount of human suffering by attracting the attention of the humane and generous to existing abuses. After some introductory remarks on the condition of the insane in Massachusetts, the writer observes:

"But such general description cannot convey an adequate idea of the utterly forlorn and degraded condition to which scores and hundreds of our brethren are reduced; we will, therefore, give some particular cases which we have ourselves witnessed during the last three months in places within thirty miles of Boston. In one of these towns we approached a large old building, like a farmhouse, and were about to inquire for the poorhouse, when our attention was attracted by a sort of cage or pen constructed at the end of a wood-shed facing upon the road. The thought occurred that it might be the cage of an insane person. We dismounted and approached the place, and looking through the bars, found it was a cage about six feet square. The floor was covered with trampled straw, and we saw only an old ragged and filthy coverlet in one corner; but as we looked more narrowly at this, a sudden motion of one side of it disclosed the head and face of a human being, which were hidden again as soon as the glaring eyes had been fixed for an instant upon us.

"The first shock was too painful to be described; to find humanity so utterly degraded; to see a human being crouching like a wild beast in his lair, caged up by the side of the public road, exposed to the gaze of every passer-by, unwashed, unshaven, unshorn, with no covering but a filthy coverlet, with not even a cup of water by his side, was

revolting beyond measure. * * * In the next town to this, we found in a shed adjoining the almshouse, and in an inclosure twelve feet long by about eight feet wide, made with oak plank and without any window, a middle-aged man stark mad, and in a state of entire nudity. His condition was about the same as that of the poor creature last described, except that his pen was larger, and was not exposed to the gaze of every passer-by; but he was in a state of entire privation of all the comforts, and even of the common decencies of life. The almshouse was clean, and the keeper's family seemed worthy, humane people, who took good care of all the inmates except the poor wretch in the shed; for him they seemed to think they had done all when they thrust through the narrow opening in his cage his daily allowance of food and drink.

"In another town, the keeper of the almshouse conducted us to a small out-building, where we found a young man of fair complexion, clad in a coarse woollen dress, leaning motionless as a statue against the wall, and his eyes cast sadly down upon the trampled straw, which was the only furniture of his solitary pen. Around his bare neck was an iron collar, from which hung a heavy iron chain, by which he was fastened to the wall. He had been crossed in love and had become a maniac; was pronounced incurable, sent back upon the town, and chained up for life, perhaps, like a wild hyena. Yet he seemed not to be dangerous; we approached him, spoke to him, lifted his chain, and examined his condition. * * *

"In another town, on inquiry at the almshouse, we were informed that there was one insane woman confined there. On requesting to see her, some reluctance was manifested, and a person was sent up stairs to make her decent, and to give her some kind of covering, as we were told that perhaps she was naked. We followed the attendant, and found in a large room an old woman lying in bed, apparently near her end, and on the other side of the room a woman about forty years of age extended upon the floor and covered with an old rug. This was the insane person, whom we found to be not furious, but quiet and timid. She was reluctant to rise, but when she did so we found that she was chained by the leg, and fastened to the wall. And this because the town would not afford the gentle sufferer an attendant to keep her out of harm; for we were told that she was not dangerous, but that she would wander about, or divest herself of her clothes, or perhaps hurt herself, and therefore they chained her up. * * *

"In the next inclosure, separated only by coarse plank which hardly obstructed vision, was a poor trembling, comely girl, scarcely seventeen years old. She was not insane, nor entirely idiotic, they said, but only silly. And for this she was confined in a pen far away from any of her sex, in close proximity with a half-naked, yelling maniac, and within a few feet of a gibbering idiot! Of all the sad sights we saw in that town, the image of this poor girl will rest longest on the memory. As we unfastened the door of her wretched apartment and entered it, she slunk trembling away and crouched whining in a corner, and as we stretched out a hand towards her, she screamed as if anticipating a blow; but when we placed it gently on her head and spoke in kindly tones to her, the screams subsided into a giggling laugh, which was not so silly but that it indicated pleasure, and we thought gratitude, for unexpected kindness."

If the reader who has carefully read all the testimony from various sources which we have adduced in this article as to

the treatment of the insane even so recently as twenty or twenty-five years ago, will visit some of the principal hospitals for the insane in New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Connecticut and Rhode Island; such institutions, for example, as the Pennsylvania Hospital for the insane, Philadelphia; Butler Hospital for the Insane, Providence, R. I.; State Lunatic Asylum, Utica, N. Y.; State Lunatic Asylum, Worcester, Mass.; Retreat for the Insane, Hartford, Conn.; N. Y. City Lunatic Asylum, Blackwell's Island, &c., then he will be able to form an adequate estimate of the amount of good accomplished within a comparatively brief period.

Nearly all the asylums just mentioned are among the several which we have visited within the last six months, and in each case their superintendents have evinced a disposition not only to communicate every important fact relative to the treatment of those under their charge, but to show us any departments of their institutions which it was proper for us to see. In those instances in which we did not happen to find the superintendents at home, or in which we were not able to visit the asylums, we have been courteously favored with their Reports for years, generally accompanied with the assurance that any further information we might desire for the public benefit would be cheerfully furnished. For the politeness thus shown, we have to return our particular thanks to Drs. Thomas S. Kirkbride, Isaac Ray, John S. Butler, and Moses H. Ranney; gentlemen who are so well known as eminent physicians and philanthropists, that it is needless for us to mention in connection with their names the institutions to which they belong, and which they have contributed so much to render famous.

Indeed, all to whom we have applied on the subject, whether personally or by letter, with the sole exception of the superintendent of the Bloomingdale Asylum, cheerfully and promptly furnished us all the statistics and other information within their reach. Perhaps the only reason why Dr. D. Tilden Brown declined to give us any information relative to his institution was, that his time was too valuable. But without going any farther for a comparison, Dr. Ranney, of the Blackwell's Island Asylum, had more than five times as many patients to attend to—an excess of the difference between 805 and 151—and yet the latter not only gave us information cheerfully on every subject in reference to which we sought it, but accompanied us to every part of the Asylum, explaining or describing as we proceeded whatever seemed to require either. True, Dr. Brown sent one of his assistants to show us certain parts of the house, but the only information worth mentioning given

by him was, that a portion of land belonging to the Asylum would be sold for about \$20,000. This, however, was not intended for us, but for a gentleman who had much more money at command. It is but justice to Dr. Brown to say that we could not regard his course towards ourselves as any personal discourtesy, since he pursued the same towards the president of a college who brought a fine amateur band, consisting of his own students, to perform before the patients, as it seems he had done more than once before. Kindness and philanthropy like this merited at least a cordial recognition, but the humane president was treated quite as cavalierly as we were ourselves.

We must confess it seemed to us that there was an air of mystery about the whole institution; nay, it looked more like a prison than an asylum. Not that there were any shackles, fetters, or other iron chains visible; we do not know that any such are used in the institution. But in any of the asylums which we have visited in Europe or America, we have never seen patients so sullen, sad and defiant. It seemed as if most of those at the Bloomingdale detested the officers, while those who were in a lighter mood ridiculed them as they passed, but avoided as much as possible being heard or seen. So far as we could judge, without being too inquisitive, only one patient had liberty to go outside the Asylum alone; and this one got charge of our horse and wagon; the assistant-superintendent regarding it as a very funny thing that he drove so briskly around the building, but without making any effort to stop him. We do not wish to make any comment for the present on certain scenes which attracted our attention in the interior of the institution; suffice it to say, that while passing one of the corridors one of the most respectable-looking of the patients threw some verses written with a pencil, by a graceful feminine hand, into our hat, of which the following lines will serve as a specimen:

"Alas! instead of Bloomingdale,
Call this in future weeping vale.
We're here, forsooth, because insane—
Ah no! it is for others' gain;
If sage as Plato, here we'd stay,
While those who sent us agreed to pay."

The paper on which these and some twenty more lines were inscribed was marked at the corner, in a different hand, as if by another patient, "More truth than poetry." If the author, whether male or female, was insane, it must be admitted that the insanity was of that kind which has some method in it.

The grounds in the immediate vicinity of the asylum are undoubtedly very beautiful. Finely wooded, as they are, well

laid out, and interspersed with handsome gravel walks, they are calculated to afford the patients various means of wholesome, invigorating and safe amusement. The scenery seen from the windows, however, seemed to us as partaking too much of the wild and romantic to be suitable for insane patients, who, according to the best writers on the subject, including Pinel, Tuke, Morel, and Halsam, require scenery of an ordinary character—"such as lays no strong hold on the imagination." If all is right, however, save the scenery, the wildness of the latter we consider but a slight drawback. Investigation is the truest test; and the public has as indisputable a right to examine the character of any institution claiming its patronage, as an individual has to examine a hat or a pair of shoes before he purchases it.

The magnificent establishment on Blackwell's Island does credit even to the great Commercial Metropolis of America. The city that has the spirit to afford such an institution for the benefit of its pauper insane, may well boast of its munificence and generosity; for it is more like a palace than an asylum for the indigent. And highly prepossessing as the exterior of the building is, the feeling which it inspires is well sustained by the admirable arrangement and order of the interior. But for no characteristic did it seem to us more worthy of praise than for its scrupulous cleanliness.

In no other institution of equal extent have we seen so many of the patients enjoying full liberty in the open air—some sitting, some standing, others walking about, and almost all formed into groups, each group consisting of those who appeared to have some sympathy for each other. Not unfrequently these carry on lively and earnest, if not logical or persuasive, discussions. Male and female evince great regard for the superintendent. Whenever he made his appearance he was welcomed with smiles and kind words, which shows that even among the insane kindness begets kindness. There is scarcely a variety of mental disease of which Dr. Ranney did not show us an interesting specimen. As he introduced us to an old woman who fancies herself the wife of ex-President Buchanan, and to a middle-aged man who fancies himself a millionaire, we were forcibly reminded of Esquirol's description of the monomaniacs; among whom, says that distinguished writer, "the passions are gay and expansive; enjoying a sense of perfect health, of augmented muscular power, and of general well-being, this class of patients seize upon the cheerful side of everything; satisfied with themselves, they are content with others. They are happy, joyous, and communicative; they sing, laugh and dance. Controlled by vanity and self-love, they delight in their own vainglorious convictions, in their thoughts of grandeur, power,

and wealth. They are active, petulant, inexhaustible in their loquacity, and speaking constantly of their felicity."

There is a good deal that is interesting in Dr. Ranney's Report for 1862. He discusses with considerable ability the plea of insanity so often made in favor of criminals. We make room for an extract, the reasoning of which is forcible and just.

"A good illustration of the effects of public prejudice is given by two trials for murder in an adjoining state, in which the separate verdicts seem to hold to each other the relation of cause and effect. In 1851, Margaret Geratty was tried in New Jersey for the assassination of her seducer. The seduction was accomplished under a promise of marriage, and the subsequent treatment was of a most aggravating character. Public sympathy was strongly roused in her favor, and, much to the surprise of all, the verdict of the jury declared her 'not guilty, on the ground of insanity.' Six physicians were immediately appointed by the court to examine the alleged lunatic, who reported they could find no evidence of 'unsound mind,' and in accordance with this opinion she was discharged from custody. In 1859, Patrick Maude was executed for the murder of his sister. Two years previous he attempted to kill his wife, and although tried and convicted, was found to be of unsound mind and sent to the asylum at Trenton. He effected his escape, and two days after committed the murder. On his trial it was shown that before and after the homicide he manifested *insane delusions*, and his whole course of conduct while in the asylum and in prison, as well as his noted speech on the gallows, proved conclusively that he was insane. But there had been a reaction in the mind of the community. The plea of insanity had been used in a former case to defraud justice of its due, and now a victim must be offered, though in the person of one who on every ground, not only of justice, but of common humanity, ought to be spared. The issue of the former trial seems, then, as intimated, to hold to that of the latter the relations of cause to effect, and I think the experience of medical gentlemen who have often been called as witnesses, will corroborate the statement that, even the attempt to prove a party irresponsible in an improper case, increases the chances of conviction in a subsequent trial where the individual is truly insane."

We may now observe that we should not have deemed it necessary to say anything in this article of the treatment or prevalence of insanity in the remote past, were it not that it has been a common habit with a certain class of writers in this country to attribute the increase of insanity to the progress of civilization. A superficial glance at the subject would, indeed, seem to justify this opinion, but only a superficial glance. In the article on Mental Diseases in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* there are some observations which favor this doctrine. As soon as the article was published it was severely criticised for this reason; and its arguments were effectually refuted by the leading medical journals of Europe. Yet we do not know one of our writers that has since written on the

subject who has not adopted the same theory. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* has said such and such; therefore they think it must be true. It is high time that this sort of thing should cease. Men who undertake to enlighten the public should try to form opinions of their own. Far be it from us to speak depreciatingly of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; it is undoubtedly a great work, and a great authority; in our opinion it has no superior of its kind. All we assert is, that it is not infallible; that some of its most learned and able writers may make remarks the correctness of which they would not insist upon themselves on more mature reflection. The case under consideration is an instance of this kind. Indeed, there is sufficient in the article itself to refute the theory in question. Even its statistics would do so. "The following table," says the writer, "constructed from various sources, shows its frequency (that of insanity) in some of the more highly civilized states, compared to the population:

	One in each
" In Italy.....	4,879
" Rhenish Provinces.....	1,000
" France.....	1,000
" Westphalia.....	846
" Belgium.....	816
" United States.....	721
" England.....	578
" Denmark.....	549
" Scotland.....	370
" Norway.....	329
" Iceland.....	311"

Any intelligent person who examines this table will see that, far from showing that people become insane in proportion as they make progress in civilization, it has precisely the opposite tendency. Were we to judge from this table, we should come to the conclusion that Norway and Iceland are the most highly civilized countries in Europe; and with the exception of Italy, we should, on the same grounds, assign to France and the Rhenish provinces the lowest rank in civilization, because they have the fewest insane in proportion to their population. In the same article we are told that "*vast epidemics of insanity spread over Europe at various periods of the dark ages.*"* Among these epidemics the author very properly includes lycanthropy, vampyrism, the dancing mania, &c., &c. Can it be said that it was a high degree of civilization that produced these? Nay, was it not the reverse? Were we to examine the histories of all nations, ancient and modern, we should find similar results. At no period were there fewer insane in Greece than

* Vol. xiv., p. 527.

when it was in the zenith of its intellectual glory—that is, in the time of Demosthenes, Æschylus, and Euripides; in Rome, also, there was less insanity in the Augustan age, in proportion to the population, than at any other period of her history.

There are two epochs in the history of every nation when the number of its insane is greatest—one is the period of its greatest ignorance; the other, that in which its civilization begins rapidly to decline. No facts are better attested than these. Were it otherwise, we should regard the development of the human mind as a curse rather than a blessing; in other words, we should regard education, without which there can be no civilization worthy of the name, as having a tendency, not to improve, but to pervert our reasoning faculties. But it would be as logical and scientific to assert that the more any muscle of the body is used without unnecessary violence, the weaker it becomes, or the greater is its tendency to paralysis. Fortunately, we have proof enough that, taking any particular race, it is those who think least, not those who think most, who are most liable to insanity. The statistics of France, Germany, England, Italy, and Spain, prove conclusively that the lowest class of farmers, laborers, and domestic servants exhibit a far greater tendency to insanity than any other class whatever; and in every instance in which similar statistics have been carefully kept in this country, the same general results have been found. One or two examples will illustrate this. Thus we copy two tables from Dr. Kirkbride's Report of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane for 1861, which speak for themselves. It is only necessary to premise that the merchants, who rank next after the farmers, are, in nine cases out of ten, of the most illiterate class of those on whom the designation "merchant" is bestowed.

TABLE showing the Occupation of 2,096 Male Patients.

Farmers.....	297	Seamen and Watermen..	47	Public Officers.....	2
Merchants.....	202	Planters.....	29	Shipwright.....	1
Clerks.....	134	Manufacturers.....	45	Contractor.....	1
Physicians.....	41	Coachmen.....	3	Author.....	1
Lawyers.....	35	Druggists.....	14	Tanners.....	6
Clergymen.....	25	Laborers.....	162	Artists.....	18
Masons.....	21	Engineers.....	15	Hairdresser.....	1
Umbrella-makers.....	3	Plasterers.....	10	Police Officers.....	6
Printers.....	19	Bank Officer.....	1	Machinists.....	34
Teachers.....	35	Conveyancer.....	1	Plane-maker.....	1
Officers of the Army.....	7	Bookbinders.....	6	Iron-masters.....	2
" Navy.....	12	Hatters.....	6	Weavers.....	25
Students.....	45	Rope-makers.....	3	Bricklayers.....	10
" of Medicine.....	14	Timmen.....	13	Brickmakers.....	3
" of Law.....	5	Painters.....	15	Sail-makers.....	3
" of Divinity.....	8	Brush-maker.....	1	Cooper.....	1
Saddlers.....	11	Paper-hangers.....	2	Jewellers.....	12
Peddlers.....	10	Boat-builder.....	1	Potter.....	1
Tobaccoists.....	20	Carver.....	1	Chair & Cabinet Makers.....	22
Carpenters.....	72	Confectioners.....	11	Blacksmiths.....	27
Bakers.....	13	Coach-maker.....	1	Watchmakers.....	4

Hotel Keepers.....	27	Print Cutters.....	2	Victuallers.....	7
Second-hand Dealers.....	3	Curriers.....	2	Soldiers U. S. A.....	5
Cap Manufacturer.....	1	Tailors.....	36	Brewer.....	1
Locksmiths.....	3	Shoemakers.....	67	Coach-trimmers.....	1
Millers.....	14	Brokers.....	6	Auctioneer.....	1
Glassblowers.....	2	Waiter.....	1	Plumber.....	1
Wheelwrights.....	6	Stove-makers.....	2	Type Founder.....	1
Gardeners.....	9	Dentists.....	2	No occupation.....	273
Chemists.....	4				

TABLE showing the Occupation of 1,851 Female Patients.

Seamstresses, or Mantua-makers	191	Daughters of	Wives of		
Storekeepers	16	Shoemakers	3	Carpenters	22
Attendants in stores	8	Druggist	1	Druggists	10
Cigar-makers	3	Artists	3	Planters	9
Teachers	45	Brickmaker	1	Peddlers	4
Domestics	269	Blacksmiths	2	Manufacturers	27
Nurses	11	Of the Married similarly situated were—		Broker	1
Artists	3	Wives of		Tanners	5
Factory Girls	3	Clerks	48	Officers of the Army	4
Physician	1	Teachers	10	Officer of the Navy	1
		Farmers	170	Plumbers	3
Of the Single females, not pursuing a regular occupation, were—		Brass Founders	4	Blacksmiths	7
Daughters of		Gardeners	5	Bakers	4
Farmers	95	Saddlers	4	Confectioners	2
Merchants	97	Printers	4	Hair-dresser	1
Masons	2	Machinists	16	Contractors	2
Bank Officers	4	Masons	2	Dentist	1
Weavers	5	Painter	1	Of the Widows similarly situated were—	
Laborers	16	Stage Owners	2	Widows of	
Sea Captains	3	Cutler	1	Merchants	39
Auctioneer	1	Bank Officers	5	Physicians	5
Bookkeepers	3	Bookkeepers	21	Public Officers	9
Teachers	6	Plasterers	2	Sea Captains	5
Carpenters	8	Engineers	6	Hotel Keepers	3
Paper-makers	2	Artists	10	Shoemakers	18
Physicians	9	Bricklayers	2	Clergymen	3
Planters	19	Collectors	3	Farmers	37
Watchmaker	1	Brickmakers	3	Coopers	3
Curriers	3	Seamen	8	Laborers	20
Clerks	20	Merchants	113	Manufacturers	8
Engineer	1	Physicians	18	Lawyers	4
Clergymen	5	Lawyers and Judges	20	Carpenters	4
Miller	1	Shoemakers	24	Clerks	6
Public Officers	13	Hatters	4	Tanner	1
Officer of Army	1	Cabinet-makers	12	Teachers	2
“ Navy	1	Laborers	114	Planters	5
Lawyers	10	Grocers	5	Bricklayers	2
Machinists	5	Clergymen	13	Painter	1
Brick-layers	2	Tobacconists	3	Seamen	7
Chair-maker	1	Weavers	10	Engravers	2
Manufacturers	4	Sea Captains	2	Engineers	4
Tailors	3	Victuallers	7	Machinists	3
Waterman	1	Brush-makers	2	Mason	1
Bakers	3	Tailors	15	Printer	1
Printers	4	Millers	4	Blacksmith	1
		Police Officers	4		

If the reader will carefully examine these tables, he will see that by far the largest proportion of the patients belong to those classes who have least to do with civilization, or who, in other words, make least use of their intellectual faculties. But let us add a little more evidence of the same kind. It may be said that Pennsylvania does not form a fair criterion, as it is chiefly agricultural; although it should be borne in mind how large a proportion of the population reside in cities. However, the same objection cannot be urged against the statistics

of Connecticut, and it will be seen from the reports of Dr. Butler, of the Retreat for the Insane, at Hartford, that there is a similar preponderance of the same classes in his institution. We can only make room for a small fragment from one of the tables in his report for 1862.

OCCUPATION OF 1,315 MALES AND 1,605 FEMALES, EMBRACING THOSE NOW IN THE RETREAT, AND THOSE ADMITTED SINCE APRIL 1ST, 1843.

Males.				Females.	
Farmers.....	388	Sash and Blind Makers..	4	Domestic Pursuits.....	1,082
Merchants.....	106	Druggists.....	3	Domestics.....	79
Day-Laborers.....	96	Ship-Riggers.....	3	Teachers.....	67
Clerks.....	57	Notaries.....	3	Seamstresses.....	55
Students.....	40	Engineers.....	3	Factory-Girls.....	38
Mechanics.....	34	Silversmiths.....	3	School-Girls.....	31
Carpenters.....	33	Wheelwrights.....	3	Tailoresses.....	20
Lawyers.....	29	Woollen Spinners.....	3	Milliners.....	15
Shoemakers.....	29	Harness-Makers.....	3	Carpet-Weavers.....	8
School-Boys.....	24	Sail-Makers.....	3	Nurses.....	4
Physicians.....	23	Hotel-Keepers.....	3	Clerks.....	3
Teachers.....	21	Carriage-Makers.....	3	Laundress.....	1
Seamen.....	19	Factory Boys.....	3	Shoe-Binder.....	1
Book-keepers.....	19	Boarding-House Keepers	2	Hat-Trimmer.....	1
Blacksmiths.....	17	Ship-Builders.....	2	Bookbinder.....	1
Painters.....	15	Stone-Cutters.....	2	No occupation.....	136
Clergymen.....	12	Comb-Makers.....	2	Unknown.....	63
Tailors.....	11	Restaurant-Keepers.....	2		
Burnishers.....	4	Architects.....	2		
		Bleachers.....	2	Total.....	1,605

In turning to a similar table in the Annual Report of the trustees of the Massachusetts State Lunatic Asylum, at Worcester, we find that for 13 lawyers, 4 editors, 2 physicians and 1 painter, 505 farmers, 408 laborers, 229 shoemakers, and 104 sailors have been inmates of the institution. And the female patients exhibit similar results. Thus, for 64 female teachers and 2 printers received into the asylum since 1833, there have been 1,119 housekeepers and 333 seamstresses. None will deny that a milliner requires to exercise her intellectual faculties more than a seamstress; and accordingly we find only 31 of the former, for 332 of the latter. From a glance at the Report of the managers of the New York State Lunatic Asylum, at Utica, for 1862, we see that for 40 farmers, 82 housekeepers, and 30 engaged in "house-work" admitted into the institution during the past year, there have been only 2 physicians, 2 students, 1 painter, and 1 surveyor. Dr. Gray, the intelligent superintendent, who furnishes these statistics, gives us the additional information, that of 287 patients admitted, only six received even a nominal collegiate education, and only three an academic education. All the rest belong to that class who, in the strict sense of the term, scarcely ever think, not to speak of their driving themselves mad by undue use of their intellectual faculties.

In a paper on "Insanity and Hospitals for the Insane," contributed by Pliny Earle, M. D., to the *National Almanac* for

1863, we find the following curious specimen of logic, bearing on this subject:

"Agreeably to the well-known law of physiology that the more an organ is healthfully used the more it becomes developed, the average brain of the civilized man has become larger than that of the savage, and, having thus *lost its natural relative proportion* to the body, and being called more frequently and energetically into action, its power is more likely to be used to exhaustion, and hence it is more liable to disease. The manifold artificial habits and customs of civilization tend to increase this liability, *until the enlightened man beholds, as it were, the chasm of insanity yawning before him at every hour and at every step.*"—P. 56.

This being translated into the vulgar tongue, means something like the following: "My dear readers, be careful that you do not make yourselves too enlightened, or exercise your reasoning faculties more than you should; for if you do your heads will grow so large that they will become too heavy for your bodies, and then you are in danger of running mad at every step you take. The heads of savages are just the right size to be free from insanity; therefore your wisest plan is to be as much like savages as possible." Dr. Pliny Earle thinks it a dangerous thing to call one's brain "frequently and energetically into action." This, perhaps, may account for some of the conclusions he has arrived at in his article. Dr. Kirkbride, it seems, has furnished him some valuable statistics, but he has put them together so clumsily that they become as useless as a mind the faculties of which are deranged from excess of enlightenment.

In our humble opinion, influences that *prevent* the head from growing have much more to do with the production of insanity than those which serve to develop the brain—influences such as habitual intoxication, impure air, unwholesome food, &c. Thus, Guislain tells us that "he has known *a whole generation of lunatics* born of a mother who was habitually intoxicated for a series of years, although neither she, her husband, nor any of their families were predisposed to insanity. He has also known epileptic children born of drunken parents, neither of whom were epileptic or predisposed to disease of the brain." We dare say that even Dr. Earle would not venture to assert that "a whole generation of lunatics" were born of a mother driven to insanity by an excess of enlightenment, or by an undue use of her reasoning faculties. One word more, and we are done with the learned doctor's theory. It is pretty generally admitted that the city of Paris occupies the highest rank in European civilization; in other words, the seat of the French Academy is the most enlightened capital in Europe; but it has fewer laboring under mental disease, in proportion

to its population, than many districts whose inhabitants are distinguished chiefly by their ignorance and poverty. Thus we are told that

"Idiocy exists to a very great extent in certain districts where goitre or bronchocele (an enlargement of a structure in the neck) is found to prevail. These districts are mostly the valleys at the foot of lofty mountains, *where the air is stagnant and humid*. This disease is called *cretinism*. It prevails to an enormous extent in some portions of Switzerland, Sardinia, and Austria. In the Canton du Valais, 1 in every 25 inhabitants is a cretin; in the Canton de Vaud, 1 in every 27, and in the Canton d'Uri, 1 in every 83; in Judenburg, in Austria, there is 1 to every 53 of the population, and in Bruck, 1 in every 74. In Upper Austria, along the banks of the Danube, *whole families consist of cretins*, and in some villages of from 4,000 to 5,000 inhabitants *not one was found capable of bearing arms*. In many other mountainous districts in Europe and other parts of the globe this endemic disease is found to exist."^{*}

Let us visit what asylum we may in any part of the world, if all classes are admissible to it, we shall be sure to find three-fourths of the inmates, if not of the illiterate, at least of the unthinking class. Of the 805 patients at Blackwell's Island, we doubt whether 20 had been used to the habitual exercise of their reasoning faculties. Nine out of every ten belong to the laboring class—the remainder, with few, if any, exceptions, to the humbler class of mechanics. Even at the Bloomingdale Asylum, which, we believe, purports to be somewhat aristocratic, quite two-thirds of its 151 patients belong to the unthinking class. Nay, if it contains a single individual that ever distinguished himself in intellectual pursuits, we have seen or heard nothing of him. In short, it matters not what state or country we turn to, the general results are the same; knowledge and science vindicate themselves against the charge of their having a tendency to pervert and annihilate the reasoning faculties, rather than strengthen and guide them. We might fill whole pages with the briefest expressions of opinion on this subject by the most careful and conscientious investigators of ancient and modern times; but it will be sufficient, in addition to the facts and figures already adduced, to give the result of the life-long experience of one to whom the insane owe more than to any other philanthropist or scientific man of modern times. We need hardly say we mean Dr. Pinel, who, after describing the classes of persons that filled the registers of the Bicêtre—chiefly the lower order—a large proportion from the country—remarks: "*But there did not appear one of those persons accustomed to the equal and habitual exercise of their intellectual faculties; not one naturalist, or natural philosopher of*

^{*} *Esqye. Brit.*, vol. 11, p. 539.

ability; not one chemist; and, for stronger reasons, not one geometer."*

Even in those instances in which insane patients are registered as physicians, lawyers, clergymen, authors, teachers, &c., &c., if due inquiry be made, it will be found in nine cases out of ten, that they are but half-educated persons, who, in their sanest days, had little intellect; whereas, if we examine the history of the exceptions, those possessed of both talent and education, or even genius of a high order, it is more than probable that we shall find the predisposition to insanity hereditary. This is true, for example, of Dean Swift, Cowper the poet, and Sir Isaac Newton. Admitting that each of these illustrious men had attacks of insanity, does it follow that the habitual exercise of their intellectual faculties was the cause of them? It is much more logical to conclude that that exercise, and the education which qualified them for it, saved them from a worse state of mental disease. At worst, when men of education in the habit of exercising their intellectual faculties do become insane, even then the gentle influence of civilization is apparent in their conduct; for how rarely do such men attempt to kill their friends or fellow-patients, or to commit any other outrage, as patients who had not the same advantages are so liable to do!

But there is a spurious civilization which some, who do not like the trouble of study and investigation, mistake for the real thing, and they form their conclusions accordingly. This class of public instructors think Pope was very absurd in saying that "a little learning is a dangerous thing;" what he should have said is, that much learning is dangerous. But the philosopher-poet was right. It is a little learning that has produced witchcraft and witch burning, Millerism, Mormonism, and a thousand other monstrosities, which are but varieties of insanity. This reminds us of some very judicious and forcible remarks in one of the Annual Reports of Dr. Ray, Superintendent of the Butler Hospital for the Insane, at Providence, R. I. In speaking of that morbid craving on the part of a very large class for the strange and wonderful, and the various means used by the unprincipled and avaricious for pandering to it, Dr. Ray observes:

"The records of every popular public library will show, I apprehend, that of the books most called for within a given period, more than half are novels. The effect of this kind of reading on the mental health is what we have to consider in the present inquiry. Of course, it varies with the character of each individual mind, and with the circumstances that accompany it. Generally speaking, however, there can be no ques-

* *Traité Médico-Philosophique sur l'Aliénation Mentale, ou La Manie*, p. 111.

tion that excessive indulgence in novel-reading necessarily enervates the mind and diminishes its power of endurance. In other departments of literature, such as biography and history, the mental powers are more or less exercised by the ideas which they convey. Facts are stored up in the memory, hints are obtained for the farther pursuit of knowledge, judgments are formed respecting character and actions, original thoughts are elicited, a spirit of investigation is excited, and, more than all, life is viewed as it really has been and must be, lived. *A mind thus furnished and disciplined is provided with a fund of reserved power to fall back upon when assailed by adverse forces, which all of us, in some shape or other, at some time or other, must expect to encounter.* In novel-reading, on the contrary, the mind passively contemplates the scenes that are brought before it, and which, being chiefly addressed to the passions and emotions, naturally please without the necessity of effort or preparation. Of late years, a class of books has arisen, the sole object of which is to stir the feelings, not by ingenious plots, not by touching the finer cords of the heart and skilfully unfolding the springs of action, not by arousing our sympathies for unadulterated, unsophisticated goodness, truth, and beauty, for that would assimilate them to the immortal productions of Shakespeare and Scott, but by *coarse exaggerations of every sentiment, by interesting every scene in glaring colors, and, in short, by every possible form of unnatural excitement.* In all this there is little or no addition to one's stock of knowledge, no element of mental strength is evolved, and no one is better prepared by it for encountering the stern realities of life. The sickly sentimentality which craves this kind of stimulus is as different from the sensibility of a well-ordered mind, as the crimson flush of disease from the ruddy glow of health. A mind that seeks its nutriment chiefly in books of this description is closed against the genial influences that flow from real joy and sorrow, and from all the beauty and heroism of common life.²⁷

If reading this class of novels is to be considered as a proof of that high degree of enlightenment which is essential to superior civilization, then, indeed, we admit that enlightenment has the effect of rendering some weak minds weaker still; but there is really as great a difference between the habitual reading of such books and the intellectual exercises of true civilization in their effects on the mind, as there is between deleterious food and wholesome food in their effects on the body. But we find that our remarks have far transcended the bounds we had prescribed for them. We will, however, return to the subject, for it is one that has not hitherto received in this country the attention which its importance deserves.

* Report for 1860, pp. 25, 26.

ART. II.—1. *The Secret History of Clubs in London, with their Originals, and the Characters of the most noted thereof.*

2. *The Clubs of London.* 2 vols. London. 1828.

3. *The London Clubs; their Anecdotes and History.* London. 1853.

CLUBS are by no means the modern creations which they might be supposed to be, by those who survey the present gorgeous edifices in St. James's Street and Pall Mall, but have existed in England at least since the days of Shakespeare. One of the works at the head of this article, indeed, supplies us with some singular details of one established by Ben Jonson, and to which "the Divine Williams," as he is termed by a recent French annotator, was doubtless in the habit of resorting; but its rules, drawn in the choicest Latinity, are too recondite for modern readers.*

This club, however, apparently was not the first; for another, named the Mermaid, held at a tavern of that name in an obscure street now known as Friday Street, in the British metropolis, is supposed to have preceded it. Sir Walter Raleigh is believed to have been the founder of this primitive institution, and here is popularly said to have first astonished the world by eating a potato and smoking tobacco, though the authority of both of these feats has been questioned by a skeptical posterity. Beaumont and Fletcher, Cobham, and a host of congenial spirits were members with Raleigh; and the raciness of the entertainments may be inferred from the lines of the great twin-dramatist first mentioned:

"What things have we seen
Done at the Mermaid! Heard words that have been
So nimble and full of the subtlest flame,
As if that every one from whom they came
Had meant to put his whole soul in a jest."

* We shall not attempt a translation of these into modern English; but the following verses, written by the immortal Ben himself, and placed under a bust of the illustrious bricklayer surmounting the door, are too good and original to be omitted. The Club, held at a noted tavern named "The Devil," we shall only premise was named "The Apollo."

"Welcome all who lead or follow
To the Oracle of Apollo;
Here he speaks out of his pottle,
Or of his briper, a tonic bottle;
All his answers are divine,
Truth itself still flows in wine,
Hang up all poor hop-drinkers,
Cries old Sim, the prince of Skinkers:
He the half of life abuses
That sits naving with the muses:
Those dull girls no good can mean us,
Wine alone's the milk of Venus,
And the poet's horse accounted;
Try it, and you all are mounted.
'Tis the true Phœbean liquor
That cheers the brain, makes wit the quicker,
Pays all debts, cures all diseases,
And at once their senses pleases,
Welcome all who lead or follow
To this Temple of Apollo."

These lines by Beaumont, however, alone now survive; all other records of this, as well as of "The Devil," or "Apollo," are extinguished for ever. Probably one of the earliest associations of the kind established in London was "The Surly Club," which is thus described by one of the satirists of the day: "This wrangling society was chiefly composed of master-carmen, lightermen, old Billingsgate porters, and rusty, tumbel'd badge watermen, and kept at a mungril tavern near Billingsgate-dock, where city dames us'd to treat their journeymen with sneakers of punch and new oysters. The principal ends that the members propos'd, in thus convening themselves together once a week, were to exercise the spirit of contradiction, and to teach and perfect one another in the art and mystery of foul language, that they might not want impudence to abuse passengers upon the Thames, gentlemen in the street, lash their horses for their own faults, and curse one another heartily when they happen'd to meet and jostle at the corner of a street. He that could put on a countenance like a boat-swain in hard weather, and growl and snarl like a curst mastiff over a bullock's liver, was a member fit for the thwarting society; and the more indirect answers, or surly impertinent returns he could make to any question, the more he was respected for his contradictory humor and cross-grain'd abilities."

Another curious club of this period was "The No Nose Club," and which owed its origin to a whimsical gentleman, who, taking a fancy to the sight of a large party of noseless persons, invited all he met in the streets to dine at a certain day. The result is very humorously described in the "Secret History of the Clubs." The first meeting of the noseless tribe was much larger than might have been supposed. Nor was any club of the day better attended, or sustained as long as its eccentric founder lived, which unhappily was only one year. An extract from the elegy written on his death shows the estimation in which he was held by the noseless fraternity.

"Mourn for the loss of such a generous friend,
Whose lofty Nose no humble snout disdain'd;
But tho' of Roman height, could stoop so low
As to soothe those who ne'er a Nose could show.

Ah! sure no noseless club could ever find
One single Nose so bountiful and kind.
But now, alas! he's sunk into the deep,
Where neither kings or slaves a Nose shall keep.

But where proud Beauties, strutting Beaux, and all,
Must soon into the noseless fashion fall,
Thither your friend in complaisance is gone,
To have 'Nose, like yours, reduced to none."

The satirists of the day had no very high opinion of the in-

fluence of the club system, either on members or on the public at large; and there are those who entertain a similar opinion of the clubs of the present day. "Most considerate men," says the author of 'Secret Clubs,' "who have ever been engaged in such sort of computations, have found, by experience, that the general end thereof is a promiscuous encouragement of *vice, faction, and folly, at the unnecessary expense of that time and money* which might be better employed in their own business, or spent with much more comfort in their several families."

These clubs, we may add, seem to have been of a very different order from the modern magnificent establishments which have succeeded.* They and their compeers were usually held in some humble tavern or public house, and geniality was their chief recommendation. This form of club continued long in fashion amongst all ranks of Englishmen, and it is still prevalent amongst a great majority of the shopkeepers and middling classes. A pot and a pipe, with suitable gossip, are now the sole recommendation.

Neither of the authors whose works we have quoted at the head of this article seems to have been able to trace any record of the institutions to whose history they have devoted themselves, in the days of the first or second of the Stuarts. But, if we may infer from the glowing pages of Sir Walter Scott, there is little doubt that they flourished during the reign of the sagacious poet who believed in witchcraft, and possibly may have existed in the earlier days of his more refined successor, Charles I.; though we can easily conceive that towards the end of this monarch's unhappy career all traces of such genial resorts must have disappeared under the auspices of such exquisite fanatics as "Praise-God Barebones" and "Kill-Sin Pimple."

But with the roystering days of the Restoration they returned, and they apparently were characterized by the gross profligacy and licentiousness which then supervened. Dryden was then one of their choicest spirits; but Sedley, Shaftesbury, Rochester, and a host of others, imparted to them an aspect of lawless revelry; and "the merry monarch" himself, as the

* In the preface to "The Secret History of the Clubs in London," the author makes some remarks, which it will be seen from the following specimen are pretty nearly as applicable to our own age and country as to any other: "Tagging of verse and writing of books are become as sharp trades in this keen age, as making of knives and scissors, and if the former, as well as the latter, are not well ground to a smart edge, they may lie upon the bookseller's stall till they are bought up by the band-box maker. Yet if they happen to be so sharp as to scratch a courtier on the forehead, cut an alderman for the simples, scarrify a knave that is both rich and powerful, cut off a leg that is not worth standing upon, or shave the smooth face of somebody who is fat withal,—there is presently a worse roaring with 'em than there is with a foolish child that has hook'd his fingers into a clasp'd knife," &c.

saturnine voluptuary, Charles the Second, has been named, is said occasionally to have frequented them. Once, indeed, he is recorded to have met with an unpleasant rebuff on entering an interesting assemblage, named "the Ugly Club," in disguise; for the president immediately arose and vacated the chair for his majesty's accommodation, being bound, by the laws of the institution, instantly to retire from the post of honor should he ever chance, when enthroned in it, to encounter an uglier fellow than himself.

A curious club in those days was "The Chief of Kings," so called from being composed solely of persons bearing this patronymic; but it must not be confounded with the far more celebrated "King's Head Club," which consisted of the more turbulent and inferior members of the court. Acts of "bravoure," as they were termed, formed the chief objects of its members, but they were in reality only those of unbridled license. The conduct of the desperadoes who frequented it, and then occupied themselves mainly in hunting down the unhappy republicans, was alike disgraceful to the era and revolting to humanity.

Under the reign of "the dull Dutchman," William III., as he is irreverently termed by one of these writers, clubs appear to have degenerated into mere assemblages of drinking bouts; though two of the most noted of existing English clubs—"Brookes's" and "White's"—then took their rise. Both have long retained an ascendancy in England; and the former especially, as the head-quarters of the Whigs, has exerted a powerful influence on the government of the country. It still, indeed, maintains to a considerable extent its original vigor; though none but rigid Whigs are now admitted to its portals. The annals of the modern club are, at the present day, dull enough; but towards the end of last century and beginning of the present, it was otherwise; and some of the most brilliant scintillations of wit from Fox, Burke, Sheridan and others, then daily or hourly sparkled in its precincts.

Selwyn, the savage wit, was a member of Brookes's, and spared neither high nor low in the infliction of his satire, though he chiefly bestowed it on the latter. Meeting one day a pompous upstart who had been the son of a stable-keeper, and appointed a Commissioner of Taxes by the influence of the notorious Duke of Inceansburg, "So," said he, "you've been *installed* here, have you?" "Yes," said the other, "and without taking a single step in the matter." "I believe you, Sir," rejoined George, who was supposed to have coveted the place himself; "reptiles can neither walk nor *take steps*; nature ordained them to crawl."

It does not appear, however, to have been then so exclusive as it subsequently became. One Sir Robert Macraith, who had been originally a waiter, and afterwards obtained a considerable fortune by marriage, on announcing his intention of purchasing "The Cocoa Tree," another noted resort, was slapped on the back by George, and told: "Right, it will then be *Bob* without and *robbing* (Robin) within." To the knight's lady, whom he was subsequently induced to visit, he was still more severe. Her father having been a pawnbroker when she informed him of her intention to "hang up her family heir-looms" in some gaudy apartment where they then stood, "I thought," said Selwyn, "they had been *hung up* long ago."

He sometimes, however, received a hard rub himself, more especially from Sheridan, who latterly threw him into the shade. George, in his age, became addicted to "the gentlemanly vice of avarice," though he still retained a passion for personal decoration, which had always distinguished him. "Can anything be more reasonable?" he said, displaying a waistcoat he had just purchased. "Can you conceive how they should have let me have it so cheap?" "Very easily," replied Sheridan; "they took you for one of the *trade*, and sold it to you wholesale." It was in revenge for this hit that Selwyn fabricated his celebrated story against Sheridan, whom he represented as intending to *do* a tailor out of a suit of clothes by blarneying the artist as one whose work "did him infinite credit." "Yes," replied the snip, who was not to be done, "my work brings me credit, and my customers *ready money*."

Dunning, the celebrated barrister, subsequently Lord Ashburton, was a member of Brookes's, and many passes of wit were there interchanged between him and other politicians of the club, especially on the score of his own and his mother's economy. Dunning, however, appears to have been a sensible man, and though most successful as a barrister, stood in wholesome awe of the law himself. A neighboring farmer having on one occasion cut down a tree on his premises, Dunning's butler threatened him with a lawsuit, and informed his master of the threat. "Did you?" said Dunning; "then you'll carry it on, for I shan't."

Of "White's" fewer anecdotes are recorded; the Tory party, of whom it chiefly consisted, being for the most part in office, and consequently having less time for indulging in these symposia. The wits, indeed, at Brookes's fabricated stories for it, one of which, relating to Dundas, the celebrated head of the English navy, was particularly good. Dundas, it seems, though popular with the higher classes, was by no means in equal estimation among the lower orders of his countrymen, the Scotch,

and on one occasion of visiting Edinburgh, was represented to have sent for a barber to operate on his chin. The barber being a practical jester, determined to amuse himself at the minister's expense. The statesman accordingly had no sooner been duly soaped than the following colloquy ensued: "We're much obliged to you, Mr. Dundas," said the operator, "for the part you lately took in London." "What," replied the statesman: "you a politician? I sent for a barber." "Oh, yes! I'll shave you directly," rejoined the other; "but meanwhile, take that, ye traitor!" and suddenly drawing the back of his razor across the obnoxious minister's throat, he hurried off. The blood started out, and the statesman was naturally alarmed. An outcry was raised, and half the faculty of the town were speedily in attendance, when, on removing his hand, which Dundas had kept firmly applied to his throat, it was found that the stream flowed solely from some artificial means which the impudent rogue had employed for the purpose of giving effect to his hoax, and that not a scratch was visible. The fellow consequently escaped unpunished; and his triumph was the greater as Dundas had the mortification of being laughed at, as well as of having to pay the zealous medical attendants.

Pitt, the celebrated premier, highly relished this anecdote, though the subject long remained a tender one with his subordinate, at whose expense the great minister frequently enjoyed a laugh, and uttered the only joke which he has ever been accused of perpetrating: "How is it," said some one on the occasion of a dinner at White's, "that the upper side of a sirloin is called the *Scotch*?" "Can't say," replied Dundas, to whom the interrogatory was addressed. "I'll tell you why," interrupted Pitt: "'tis because they always prefer the side that's uppermost."

The anecdotes connected with his name at White's are consequently few, and one recorded in the course of these pages is somewhat irreverent. It was rather, indeed, to the House of Commons that it applied; for, though represented by Fox as told at White's, it occurred in the Legislature. Pitt had an unscrupulous follower named Rose, whom he was always in the habit of putting forward when any assertion of unusual audacity required to be made; and it was on one of these occasions that he was positively electrified by the magnificence of his henchman's mendacity. "Now listen," said he, "Rose is going to tell a d——d lie," when the other stood up with solemn aspect and placed his hand impressively on his breast; and, "Splendid! is he not magnificent?" was the additional exclamation, as the other called on "the Ruler of the

Universe and the Great Searcher of Hearts" to bear witness to his falsehood.

The celebrated Beau Brummel was a member of White's, and was rarely seen beyond the streets in its precincts. He affected a horror, indeed, of being seen towards the Eastern or City end of London; but Sheridan once chanced to find him coming from that latitude. "What!" said Sherry, "you come from the East? Impossible!" "Why, my de—ar Sa—ar?" drawled the Beau. "Because the wise men come from the East," was Sheridan's reply. "So then, Sa—ar, you *think* me a fool?" demanded Brummel, with more energy than usual. "By no means," replied Sheridan, moving off, "I *know* you to be one."

These wits do not appear to have been marked by much good-nature; but Sheridan at this time was himself sometimes getting terrible rubs. Addressing Horne Tooke, who shortly before had published his celebrated "Portraits of Two Fathers and Two Sons," (the Earl of Chatham, Mr. Pitt, Lord Holland, and Mr. Fox,) he unwittingly said, "So, sir! you are the reverend gentleman who I am told draws portraits for amusement?" "Yes, sir," replied the stern democrat; "and if you'll do me the favor of sitting for yours, I'll draw it so faithfully that even you yourself will shudder."

Some doggerel at this time annoyed him much. He was represented to have written:

"Since none with pen will *trust* me but a *goose*,
And paper of all kinds I've little now to use,
To my verses you may swear if you will,
If inscribed on the back of a wine-merchant's bill;
But observe, should there be a receipt at the end on't,
They're none of Sherry's, you may depend on't."

These were supposed to have been provoked by a *jeu d'esprit* of Sheridan shortly before on Whitbread, the great porter-brewer, who had unexpectedly raised the price of his beer:

"They've raised the price of table drink;
What is the reason, do you think?
The tax on *malt's* the cause, I hear—
But what has malt to do with beer?"

But other clubs besides Brookes's and White's were famous during last century, especially the Beef-Steak Club, which also is, or was lately, in existence. It was established in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and owed its origin to the fact that some member of the peerage had called upon a noted actor, named Dickey Suett, at one of the larger London theatres, while the latter was engaged in cooking his dinner. A beef-steak constituted the sole repast; but it was cooked so tenderly, and his lordship enjoyed it so much, that he asked permission to return with a friend on the following day. The friend came, and so

much did the trio enjoy the *morceau* cooked in their presence, that a club was formed, to meet once every succeeding week; and it has been kept up ever since. Beef-steaks and port constitute the sole entertainment at this repast, and the custom is still rigidly adhered to of cooking the viand on a silver grid-iron in presence of the members. The most celebrated men of the age have ranked among the number of these, including Fox, Burke, the noted Duke of Norfolk, and Lord Brougham. The two last were originally "six-bottle men," though the last has so reformed that he has become almost a teetotaler—warned, probably, by the premature fate of the other, who died in little beyond the prime of life, after having been accustomed to be carried nightly on the shoulders of six men triumphant to bed.

But by far the most noted London club of last century was the celebrated King of Clubs, formed by a noted hero, named Bobus Smith, who boasted of having whipped the Duke of Wellington, when a boy at Eaton. In union with him were the late Sir James Mackintosh, the Marquis of Lansdowne, recently deceased, and a few men of refinement who met for the purpose of uniting intellectual pursuits with social enjoyment. It assembled once a month, on a Saturday; and a celebrated talker of the period, named "Conversation Sharpe," was one of its principal attractions. The late Lord Holland, Sir James Searlett, (afterwards Lord Abinger,) and Rogers, the banker-poet, also contributed to raise it to celebrity. Yet it never fully realized public expectations; for, by a strange coincidence, almost all its members failed in the House of Commons. Bobus himself but once ventured to speak in that fastidious assembly, and he retired crippled like a lame duck from its presence. Sharpe, though the most brilliant talker known in modern time, was not a whit more successful; and Mackintosh never achieved the parliamentary fame anticipated for him.

Yet some rare encounters of wit took place here. Lord Erskine, the celebrated orator, was one of the most conspicuous of its members, though he himself formed no exception to the list of parliamentary failures. Here he was accustomed to quiz Lord Kenyon, another member, for having presided twelve years in one court in the same pair of breeches; here he was accustomed, in his egotism, to recount his early triumphs; and here he was wont, amid the utter desolation of his age, to resort in his ultimate decline, accelerated by the vindictiveness with which the Prince of Wales pursued him for having accepted, when a member of his royal highness's household, a brief from the noted Tom Paine. Yet Wyndham, a high aristocrat, justified him for his conduct on this occasion, having

been entirely gained by the bold oratory of the demagogue in replying to Burke's celebrated pamphlet on the French Revolution. "Mr. Burke," said Paine, "pities the plumage, but he forgets the dying bird." "I could have hugged the greasy rogue on hearing this," said Wyndham, "he pleased me so."

It was one of the peculiarities of this club, that strangers could be admitted to it as honorary members, and impart as well as receive amusement. Amongst those so introduced was Curran, the great Irish orator; and Lord Avonmore, a celebrated Irish judge, was one of his constant butts.

The celebrated Lord Ward was also a brilliant member of this club, and used to banter Rogers the poet with merciless severity. Sam in those days was a sort of living skeleton, and his lordship was wont to ask him "why he did not keep his hearse?" Returning from Spa on one occasion, Rogers remarked that the place was so full he could not find even a bed. "Dear me," said Ward, "was there not room in the church-yard?" At another time, on being shown a portrait of Rogers, by Murray the publisher, who remarked that it was "done to the life," "to the death you mean," was his lordship's reply. But the banker-poet survived his torture, and shortly afterwards had the melancholy satisfaction of seeing him conveyed to a mad-house, after paying a London alderman the extraordinary compliment of addressing him in some such words as "your father was a good man, he was an excellent man; he had the best melted-butter I ever tasted in my life."

There was another noted King's Club, or King's Head Club, which used to be held at the University of Cambridge during last century, and of which Macaulay, the celebrated essayist and historian, was a member. Latterly, however, he was ashamed of having belonged to it; for a calf's head, served up on the anniversary of the unhappy Charles the First's execution, was its principal distinction.

These, together with a reunion named "The Literary Club," supposed to have been founded by Dr. Johnson, though latterly only distinguished for dulness, were the chief social institutions of last century; and, excepting Brookes's and White's, which have been modernized and kept pace with the times, they present no resemblance to the existing fashionable clubs, which are as much distinguished for elegance and gaudiness, as the former were for their homely appearance.

Externally, these modern clubs are amongst the most magnificent buildings of the British metropolis, and, so far as inward splendor is concerned, some of them throw the residences of the leading *noblesse*, and even of the sovereign, into the shade. They afford representations, too, of every style of ar-

chitecture, from the chaste modern Italian and Ionic columns, to the heavier massiveness and gorgeousness which belong to no known school of architecture, except the gigantic and ornate. A few of them are remarkable for incongruities of taste, and the discordant effects which naturally result from all attempts injudiciously to unite different and inherently inharmonious styles; but on the whole, they are amongst the most remarkable buildings of London, and such as are to be seen in equal variety and profusion in no other city whatever.

Though differing in their styles externally and in their internal arrangements, there is usually a considerable degree of similarity within the walls of a club, and certain features are common to all. Most of them have generally a striking hall or entrance. In some instances, access is obtained to this immediately from the street; but in general, by a small and comparatively unadorned vestibule, which renders the effect of the interior splendor the more striking.

In the vestibule generally sits a porter, who takes charge of the letters, &c., for the various members, and sees that no unauthorized person enters. Each member of the club is expected to leave his private address with the secretary; but this, of course, remains unknown to the rest of the world, and thus it is that half-pay lieutenants and individuals in similar circumstances, while frequenting these palatial establishments by day, are often found to reside or pass the night in some very modest *locale*.

From the interior of the vestibule a small waiting-room sometimes branches off, devoted to the reception of visitors. This, however, is by no means a general arrangement, strangers being usually looked upon with a jealous eye, and, excepting in one or two instances, utterly excluded from participating in the slightest degree in the benefits of the club. A few youthful Ganymedes, in the garb of pages, are also generally stationed about the vestibule, for the purpose of acting as running messengers, at so much per mile, for the members of the establishment.

From the hall in the interior branch off the various apartments of the edifice. These usually consist, on the ground floor, of a morning or lounging room, devoted to the reception of the various public journals, and where members assemble either to gather intelligence concerning the events of the day, or to conduct their correspondence, with the material for which, in the shape of stationery, the club freely supplies them. Adjoining this there is usually a coffee-room, on a larger scale, and often fitted up in a style of great splendor. In most clubs there is also generally a private dining-room, adorned in a degree

much less magnificent, in which the members of the club who chance to be on social terms with each other meet once a week or oftener for the purpose of having what is termed a "house-dinner." In all, viands of the most *recherché* description are supplied at something like cost price, and the cooking is almost invariably of the first-rate order; most clubs piquing themselves on the superiority of their *chef*, and the "artist" usually being a foreigner who has achieved high distinction in culinary annals. Some clubs, indeed, have owed their main celebrity to their cooks; and in a noted instance, where an illustrious *cuisinier* left, it was declared of a great establishment of this order, *Rium fuit*—it was, or rather had been, Tray. The artist himself seems to have been aware of this, and it was positively touching to see him, after retiring from his situation of \$5,000 a year, perambulating the streets in the neighborhood with all the subdued complacency of a retired or retiring premier, evidently convinced that the establishment or the country could not survive his fall. The lower floor of the edifice, it need not be mentioned, is chiefly devoted to the mysteries of the art over which this potentate presided; and in order that the whole may proceed with the regularity of science, the aid of steam is generally called into action, with the view of raising in befitting silence to the dining-table the *chef d'œuvres* from the Elysian shades below.

But it is on the first floor or upper part of a club that it is seen to most advantage. Here are the drawing-room, which is usually fitted up in a style of great elegance, though ladies are never, except on visiting days, permitted to enter its portals, and the library, which in some of these establishments is often an exceedingly spacious as well as amply stored hall. In one club, the Athenæum, the volumes are upwards of twenty thousand in number, and the whole are usually under the control of a resident librarian. Lounging-chairs, writing-tables, and like conveniences are here abundantly provided; and latterly, in some such apartment as this, when hard pressed by his creditors, the unhappy, defiant, scorning, but eventually scorned and neglected Theodore Hook wrote the greater part of his novels, undisturbed by all the buzz and hum of the more fortunate butterflies around him. Adjoining is usually a smaller withdrawing or card-room; but gaming, as well as excesses of every species, are no longer the *ton* in a club, and the stake is generally confined to half-guinea points.

The upper story of a club is usually devoted to a billiard-room, a smoking-room, and the offices of the domestics. It is almost always devoid of ornament, and concealed from the street by a parapet. In the instance of one club, however, the

Reform, there is a third floor, disclosed to spectators in all its glaring reality. It is hired out as lodgings, or sleeping apartments, to a few of its members; but the arrangement is not productive of good effect, so far as the eye is concerned, externally, and it neither has been nor can be considered worthy of adoption.

A club is usually under the control of a secretary, who receives his orders from a select committee of members, consisting of the most veteran *gourmands* and practised wine-bibbers of the house. On these gentlemen devolves the important duty of selecting the viands and tasting the wines; and as the responsibility is great, the experience is, of course, commensurate. In general the viands are provided by first-rate tradesmen, and the wines, supplied to the members at wholesale prices, are almost invariably unexceptionable. The reputation of the club, or rather, the character of the committee, on these momentous points is at stake; and seldom is either compromised. A cook, as already mentioned—usually some great foreign hero, widely known to fame—is ready to obey these behests, and give a brilliant realization to their commands, in so far as the former are concerned; while a butler—a far more modest individual, with whose name the world is seldom familiar—is employed partially to execute the latter, the duty being deemed far too important for delegation. Whenever a member has reason, or surmises he has reason to complain of either, he makes a solemn complaint in writing on the back of his bill, and it is duly laid before the committee at their first weekly meeting, who deliberate and decide on it with inflexible impartiality. A house-steward and kitchen-clerk superintend minor details. A still-room maid prepares the tea and coffee. A needle-woman is usually kept in most establishments for executing repairs, and a whole host of housemaids, doubtless presided over by a matron, are to be found on the premises. A bevy of female cooks, who obey the awful nod of the *chef*, are also to be found in the kitchen; but these, the main forces of the club, are usually most religiously kept from view, and maintained apart as rigidly as the most thorough woman-hater could desire.

Such is an outline of the modern club. It would be out of place here, and extend our article too long, to trace the influence of such institutions on society. They may have rendered it less domesticated, but they have also refined it; they may have ministered to *exclusivism*, yet they have also softened the asperities of *caste*. A less social taste may have been introduced, for the great majority of members of a club are generally strangers to each other; they have, however, put an end

to the coarse excesses which formerly resulted from undue conviviality. To be seen "reeling home from a club," is no longer an expression proverbially true; but, on the contrary, such scenes are as rare as they are justly deemed disgraceful.

Most of the London clubs, it may be added, distribute their broken viands to the poor of the respective parishes, and in this respect they perform a part which is meritorious. Admission to all of them is by ballot—one negative in ten usually excluding a candidate, while in others a single black-ball suffices. The price of admission varies from \$40 to \$160, and the annual subscription from \$30 to \$60. The principal clubs, now-a-days, naming them in the order of their establishment, are:

White's, Brookes's, Boodle's, The Union, Alfred, Arthur's, Senior United Service, Junior United Service, Oxford and Cambridge, Wyndham, Garrick, The Army and Navy, Travellers', Oriental, Carlton, Reform, Conservative, Athenæum, Senior University, Law, City, Whittington.

To Brookes's and White's we have already alluded; and a brief notice of the others may be interesting. Boodle's is a place of resort chiefly for country gentlemen, though even there, the venerable tights and top-boots can scarcely now be seen. The Union was once an exceedingly select place for city merchants, but it has long since become obscure and decayed. Alfred's was of a literary tendency; but it exists now almost solely in name. Arthur's is a place of similar description. But the Senior United Service is still in pristine vigor, and has given rise to two institutions of similar origin, The Senior United Service, and The Army and Navy, (familiarily termed "The Rag and Farnish,") where Louis Napoleon, the present Emperor of France, was formerly accustomed to eat his eighteen-penny breakfast. The Travellers' for a long time was the most *recherché* of any club, no admission being obtained to it, unless the candidate had made the European tour, or travelled at least a thousand miles from home; though exception was made in favor of distinguished foreigners, especially the late astute diplomatist, Talleyrand, whose delight it was to indulge here in a game at whist. The Oriental is a place of resort exclusively for Eastern Indians, as its name may denote, and the yellow-jaundiced aspect of its members sufficiently proves. The Carlton is the oldest and most select of the political clubs, having been established chiefly for party purposes. The Reform is its great rival on the opposite side of politics, but it is far less *recherché* in its members. The Conservative is a sort of Junior Carlton, founded for reception of the sucking and less noticeable members of the Tory party;

and the Athenæum is devoted almost exclusively to men of science and literature, though a large number of no pretensions to either have lately found admission to its roll.

The Senior University, as it is called, to distinguish it from the Oxford and Cambridge or Junior University, consists chiefly of the higher dignitaries of the Church of England, and numbers some of the most experienced topers in the country among its members. The Oxford and Cambridge follows at a long distance behind, but still is imbued with the same lofty aspirations. The Wyndham, with a similar club named the Parthenon, devoted to the smaller fry of literature, is now almost defunct; but the Garrick still flourishes in the multitude of English translators or adapters of dramatic pieces from the French. The Law is a professional club, often enlivened by the eccentricities of Lord Brougham; and the City is solely frequented by city merchants.

ART. III.—1. *The Life and Posthumous Writings of William Cowper, Esq., with an Introductory Letter to the Right Honorable Earl Cowper.* By WILLIAM HAYLEY, Esq. 2 vols., 8vo. London. 1862.

2. *The Works of William Cowper, Esq., comprising his Poems, Correspondence and Translations. With a Life of the Author,* by the Editor, ROBERT SOUTHY, Esq., LL.D., Poet-Laureate, &c. 4 vols., 8vo. London.

3. *The Works of William Cowper, his Life and Letters,* by William Hayley, Esq., now first completed by the introduction of Cowper's *Private Correspondence.* Edited by the Rev. I. S. GRIMSHAW, A.M., Rector of Burton, Northamptonshire, &c., &c. 8 vols., 8vo. London.

WE are likely to forget the poets of the last century, and not only lose our reverence for them, but fail in deriving from their writings and life the benefits they were designed to confer. Byron, Scott, Moore and Shelley have not as many readers now as they had twenty years since, and we predict a still greater falling off in the next double decade. These were but connecting links with Cowper and the elder children of song. They had not in them, to a very great extent, the material of poetry which, asbestos-like, defies the fires of taste and criticism. Their chief element was passion and sentiment, which in themselves are ephemeral; and especially so when they belong rather to the animal than to the spiritual. They are of

the earth—earthly. The poets of a generation or a particular age do not inherit the future. They fulfil their limited mission, and, like the Harbinger of the Messiah, decrease and sink into the greater light, and are lost. Much of their fame lies in the less pretentious poems they have written, and, like some leaf from the tree of Idgrasil, will be wafted to the ages yet to come. Poetry only lives as it seizes upon the universal truth, that neither age, nor change, nor time can affect, and which, like the soul, never grows old or decays. The transient day-dreams of the imagination please, but they do not live. The ephemeral and the transient send a gleam of sunshine across our pathway, and then disappear. The sensual and voluptuous die with the passions they invoke. They are parasitic and primitive, and either perish on what they feed, or kill what nourishes them. They belong not to that higher region of life which allies itself with immortality.

We have had quite a number of this fugacious class of poets, who have acquired fame, or rather notoriety, but they are rapidly becoming effete for want of that vitality which only belongs to the healthy and the vigorous. They are the “half-and-half,” the mongrel and the hybrid, which yield no permanent issue. They have served some purpose, however, in giving evidence of the fact, that whatever is essentially base and vile, though covered with tinsel and arrayed in jewels, must be condemned. *Infamia notatus* is branded on all these children of the *pané*, and purity turns from them at a single glance. That some of these poets felt the kindling rays which wakened into life “the mighty orbs of song,” none can deny. But the sun which calls into light and awakens the rapture of the skylark, drives into the shade the owl and the bat.

It is truly a pitiable sight, and not without its warning. The sunflower is a large and lubberly stalk; it awkwardly turns its head towards its master, but is too seedy and yellow to win our admiration. The daisy of Burns and the celandine of Wordsworth hold our senses in rapture, and waken thoughts “too deep for tears.” But let the poets sing. The world is large and noisy, and, to tell the truth, dissonant; and many sounds reach us more inharmonious than any we have heard from even the least in the kingdom. Sing on—a cricket on the hearth is not unwelcome to us in our graver moods, and the chirp of a wren enters the ear to push out what is less welcome, in the multitudinous roar of the mad world. Many a maiden in the kitchen, many a boor in the field, many a mother in her log cabin, and suitor on the mart, and soldier in the camp, have wept and laughed and found new hopes in reading and remembering the simple ditties of the forgotten and un-

known. They serve some good purpose, we think, and the world would lose much if these inglorious writers were for ever mute.

We well remember a young man who was aspiring to be a preacher, but he sadly failed in all his attempts at sermonizing. Of course his efforts were all extemporaneous, though not unstudied. He could not hold his audience with his glittering eye, if, indeed, there was any fire in that organ. An honest friend advised him to give it up, and that God had never called him to preach the Gospel. His answer was, "There must of necessity be among the preachers one known as the least, and he would become a preacher if this even was to be his lot." He was ambitious and persevering, and won an enviable reputation. The courage and humility of the novitiate gave promise of his success. There must, then, of necessity, be some one of the poets who shall rank as the least; and this is better than to have no name among the elect interpreters of nature and of God. And as no one knows what is in him until he is tried, and as the cask is not conscious of the wine which it contains, to tap it is the only method of ascertaining its quality; and although the first draught may not be so pure, it may improve both with age and the very process of running it off into the cruise.

The father of William Cowper was John Cowper, Chaplain to King George the Second, and resided at his rectory of Great Birkhamstead, in Hertfordshire, England, the scene of the poet's infancy. His mother was Ann, daughter of Roger Donne, Esq., of Ludham Hall, in Norfolk. They had several children, but only left two sons. William, the subject of this notice, was born at Birkhamstead, on the 26th of November, 1731. His mother died at the early age of thirty-four, in 1737. Thus was he bereft in childhood of the care and tenderness of his mother, whose merits he has so feelingly commemorated in his *Task*. Her death was one of the causes of the gloom and sadness which threw a shadow over his life, and contributed, in the highest degree, to give a coloring to his mind which neither age nor circumstances could effectually remove. His infancy and childhood were marked with constitutional weakness and delicacy, almost feminine, which in after life was seen in the extreme diffidence which made his intercourse with others most painful, and rendered him entirely unfit to appear, in even the humblest office, before the public. In this may be traced the tendency to depression, which at times culminated into settled despair and insanity. The instrument was too finely strung and ethereal to bear the ordinary shocks of the rude world, and a passing breeze, unnoticed by coarser minds, sent

a wail of terror along its chords, which, if it did not break, unstrung them. A finer organism, perhaps, never was known. He was the sensitive plant which felt the most delicate touch, and shrunk back into itself as if by paralysis. His mind was the *Æolian harp* which responded to the first breath without, and rose with a tempest of unearthly music from every passing breeze.

In early life he was subject to inflammation of the eyes, and was put into the hands of an oculist, and from thence transferred to all the hardships and annoyances of a public school. His father did not seem to understand the nature and the wants of his son, and his mother's gentler hand was needed to soothe and care for the tender plant, now exposed to the dangers attendant upon that first step in life, which to all is most trying, but to a mind like William Cowper's almost insupportable.

"Women know
The way to rear up children; (to be just.)
They know a simple, merry, tender knack
Of trying baby sashes, fitting baby shoes,
And kissing pretty words that make no sense,
And stringing full sense into empty words."

Cowper through life lamented the persecution he endured at school, and the trials of his early education. His own account of the matter represents him at Westminster "as not daring to raise his eyes above the shoe-buckles of the elder boys." He never adverted to those days without the most painful feelings and a shudder at the recollection of his wretchedness. One of his poems is devoted to Education, in which he moralizes upon the evils attendant upon the exposure of youth to the unexpected trials and often ruinous effects which follow them in public schools.* Perhaps no where is this experienced to so great an extent as in the universities of England. The sys-

* It is well known that Cowper's peculiar disposition and temperament subjected him to numerous annoyances from his fellow-students. This will account for his hatred to public seminaries. "A public education," he says, "is often recommended as the most effectual remedy for that bashful and awkward restraint so epidemic among the youth of our country. But I verily believe, that instead of being a cure, it is often the cause of it. For seven or eight years of his life, the boy has hardly seen or conversed with a man or a woman, except the maids at his boarding-house. A gentleman or a lady are consequently such novelties to him, that he is perfectly at a loss to know what sort of behavior he should preserve before them. He plays with his buttons, or the strings of his hat, he blows his nose, and hangs down his head, is conscious of his own deficiency to a degree that makes him quite unhappy, and trembles lest any one should speak to him, because that would quite overwhelm him. Is not all this miserable shyness the effect of his education? To me it appears to be so. If he saw good company every day, he would never be terrified at the sight of it, and a room full of ladies and gentlemen would alarm no more than the chairs they sit on. Such is the effect of custom."

In his "Tirocinium, or Review of Schools," he evinces still more antipathy against public schools. Thus, according to him, they are the source of all vice and iniquity:

"Would you your son should be a sot or duncie,
Lascivious, headstrong, or all these at once;

tem of "fagging" was practised to an almost unlimited extent, in which boys were compelled to do menial service for those who occupied the higher classes in school. In this both the professors and the pupils engaged, and if it had stopped here it might have been supportable; but the utmost tyranny and abuse were practised upon all who would submit to it, or had no means of redress. Shelley refers to it in his dedication to Mary, in the "Revolt of Islam." "Refusing to fag, at Eton, he was treated with revolting cruelty by masters and boys. This roused, instead of taming, his spirit, and he rejected the duty of obedience when it was enforced by menaces and punishment." His resolute heroism, though trembling at every nerve, led him to encounter the most hateful oppressions which were practised in the school, and much of his after-life of morbid sensibility and sadness doubtless had its origin in Eton.

"Thoughts of great deeds were mine, dear friends, when first
The clouds which wrap this world from youth did pass.
I do remember well the hour which burst
My spirit's deeds; a fresh May-dawn it was
When I walked forth upon the glittering grass
And wept, I knew not why; *until there rose*
From the near school-room voices, that, alas!
Were but one echo from a world of woes—
The harsh and grating strife of tyrants and of foes."

It is evident that Cowper felt even more keenly than Shelley the depths of degradation and sorrow to which he was driven, as his mind was more sensibly alive, if possible, to the harsh gratings of the prison-schools into which he had entered. But he was studious, and, so far as we have learned, meek and submissive. He acquired the reputation of scholarship together with many who in after-life cherished his memory and distinguished themselves in public life.

At the age of eighteen, in 1749, he left Westminster to enter upon the study of the law; his friends having selected the life of an attorney for him—a life for which he had no taste, and no qualifications. For whatever intellect and talent he possessed, his delicate constitution and diffidence, his ethereal and refined spirit shrank back from the toil and drudgery, the conflicts and perplexities attendant upon a profession requiring the qualities of a soldier rather than a poet to achieve any honor or consideration in it.

He was fitted by nature and education for the refined society of the pure and the cultivated, and had no affinity, taste or dis-

That in good time the stripling's finished taste
For loose expense, and fashionable waste,
Should prove your ruin and his own at last;
Train him in public with a mob of boys,
Childish in mischief only and in noise;
Else of a mannish growth, and five in ten
In infidelity and lewdness men."

position to mingle in the bustle and business of the great world around him. His very atmosphere was love. The gentler virtues he possessed to an extraordinary degree; and his love for nature was a passion which sought continually proper objects to revel in. The variety and depth of his sorrows are expressed in the following verses by him:

"See me—ere yet my destined course half done,
Cast forth a wanderer on a world unknown!
See me neglected on the world's rude coast,
Each dear companion of my voyage lost!
Nor ask why clouds of sorrow shade my brow,
And ready tears wait only leave to flow!
Why all that soothes a heart from anguish free,
All that delights the happy—palls with me!"

He settled himself in the Inner Temple after his term of service was completed with the solicitor, and remained there till the age of twenty-three. But his mind naturally turned to the paths of literature and poetry, rather than to the rough and thorny roads of jurisprudence. During this time he made himself familiar with the classics, and gave translations from Horace and others. He also cultivated the acquaintance of distinguished men known in the literary world—Colman, Thornton, Lloyd and others, whose lives and habits differed widely from his own, and who might have proved a serious injury to the fame and character of the illustrious bard. Happily, he escaped from their example and degradation.

His early poems show the bent of his mind. "The child," in him, "was father of the man." They all indicate a contemplative spirit, early impressed with a love of truth and of piety. His descriptive talent is seen in nearly all his earlier productions; and his talent for moralizing even on the simplest of subjects.

In his thirty-first year he was nominated to the offices of Reading Clerk and Clerk of the private committees of the House of Lords—a situation the more desirable, as such an establishment might enable him to marry early in life: a measure to which he was doubly disposed, both by judgment and inclination. But the peculiarities of his mind rendered him unable to support the ordinary duties of his new office; for the idea of reading in public proved a source of torture to his tender and apprehensive spirit. Resigning his situation as Reading Clerk, he was appointed Clerk of the Journals of the same House of Parliament. Of his occupation, in consequence of this new appointment, he speaks in the following letter:

TO LADY HERKETH.

THE TEMPLE, August 9, 1763.

MY DEAR COUSIN—Having promised to write to you, I make haste to be as good as my word. I have pleasure in writing to you at any

time, but especially at the present, when my days are spent in reading the Journals, and my nights in dreaming of them: an employment not very agreeable to a head that has long been habituated to the luxury of choosing its subject, and has been as little employed upon business as if it had grown upon the shoulders of a much wealthier gentleman. But the numscull pays for it now, and will not presently forget the discipline it has undergone lately. If I succeed in this doubtful piece of promotion, I shall have at least this satisfaction to reflect upon—that the volumes I write will be treasured up with the utmost care for ages, and will last as long as the English Constitution—a duration which ought to satisfy the vanity of any author who has a spark of love for his country. Oh, my good cousin! if I was to open my heart to you, I could show you strange sights; nothing, I flatter myself, that would shock you, but a great deal that would make you wonder. I am of a very singular temper, and very unlike all the men that I have ever conversed with. Certainly I am not an absolute fool; but I have more weaknesses than the greatest of all fools I can recollect at present. In short, if I was as fit for the next world as I am unfit for this, and God forbid I should speak it in vanity, I would not change conditions with any saint in Christendom.

My destination is settled at last, and I have obtained a furlough. Margate is the word; and what do you think will ensue, cousin? I know what you expect, but ever since I was born I have been good at disappointing the most natural expectations. Many years ago, cousin, there was a possibility that I might prove a very different thing from what I am at present. My character is now fixed, and riveted fast upon me, and, between friends, is not a very splendid one, or likely to be guilty of much fascination.

Adieu, my dear cousin! So much as I love you, I wonder how it has happened I was never in love with you. Thank Heaven that I never was, for at this time I have had a pleasure in writing to you, which in that case I should have forfeited. Let me hear from you, or I shall reap but half the reward that is due to my noble indifference.

Yours ever, and evermore,

W. C.

This letter opens to the reader the inner life and struggles of William Cowper, and shows how harsh and dissonant the world and its employments grated upon his sensitive nature, and how utterly unfit he was for its business and pursuits; and yet there is nothing in it indicating a morbid state of mind. It was his normal condition, and no discipline could have modified or changed it. No one can tell what unutterable sorrow and grief—what repugnance he felt in attending upon the duties of an office, which a mind differently constituted would have met and discharged with the utmost ease and pleasure. The reading of "the Journals" was a constant trial, more painful and oppressive than that of a trial-sermon to the most diffident novice, or an address by a female before a large and promiscuous audience, whose voice sounded as an alarm-bell at the cry of fire. His "nights were spent in dreaming" of what he had read, and filled with apprehensions of the recurring duties day by day. He was a wonder to him-

self, and felt assured that no circumstances in life, no hopes of preferment, no solicitations of friends, would ever change the singular temper or disposition he possessed, or alter in any wise the idiosyncrasy of his mind. "Public exhibition" to him "was mortal poison," and filled him with "horror." Having prepared himself for the office by several months' constant labor, when the day arrived to enter upon its duties all confidence forsook him, and his friends acquiesced in the fact that he was utterly unable to discharge its duties. His health broke down under the distressing and mortifying conflict, and mental derangement followed. "From December, 1763, to the following July, the sensitive mind of Cowper appears to have labored under the severest suffering of morbid depression; but the medical skill of Dr. Cotton, and the cheerful, benignant manners of that accomplished physician, gradually succeeded, with the blessing of Heaven, in removing the indescribable load of religious despondency which had clouded the faculties of this interesting man. His ideas of religion were changed from the gloom of terror and despair to the brightness of inward joy and peace."

How much of this depression was due to the habitual sadness which had possessed his finely sensitive nature, owing to the incompatibility existing between his wishes and his wants; his duty and his ability; the demands of labor and his abhorrence of it; the strength of his intellect and the weakness of his will, we cannot say; but we doubt not that his peculiar views of religion, tinged as they were with Calvinism, had much to do in plunging him into that terrible vortex which came nigh engulfing him for ever. On this subject we do not feel disposed to dwell; but we cannot think but what clearer and more scriptural views of the Christian system would have relieved him from the fatal darkness which for many months settled down upon him, and threatened the extinction of this mighty orb. Thank God he was relieved! and the world has been made wiser and better for it.

"No wounds like those a wounded spirit feels;
No cure for such, till God, who makes them, heals."
"And thou, sad sufferer, under nameless ill,
That yields not to the touch of human skill,
Improve the kind occasion—understand
A Father's frown, and kiss the chast'ning hand!"

In this way he improved the sad calamity with which he was visited; and the event left a deep and abiding impression upon him of his dependence upon God, and a cheerful acquiescence in his mysterious ways. With the relief to his burdened intellect came the peace of a soul reconciled to his government, and a sense of his acceptance and adoption. The darkness

which brooded over the great deep gave way under the fiat of Him who said, "Let there be light, and there was light."

It is said, though upon what authority we are unable to state, that during one of his paroxysms of insanity, either at the time to which we refer or subsequently, he requested a hackman to drive him out to London Bridge, with the secret purpose of casting himself down into the Thames, but that the driver at night became embarrassed and lost his way, and was not able to extricate himself from the intricate roads in which he entered, and finally he told the stranger that he could not find the place he was seeking, though he knew every inch of ground which led to it. Mr. Cowper asked him if he could find his way back. He said that he could, and soon returned him to his house. In the mean time his fit of depression left him, and he sat down and wrote that inimitable hymn which commences

"God moves in a mysterious way
His wonders to perform;
He plants His footsteps in the sea,
And rides upon the storm."

The reader will please read it, and see how admirably it illustrates the strange providence which gave him relief and safety under the dark cloud which was lowering over his head—so "big with mercy."

His introduction into the family of the Unwins was the most remarkable incident of his life, and the intimate friendship which matured and increased through life between him and them is one of the most affecting in all the history of human attachments. No one ever found a dearer friend than Mrs. Unwin, and no one was ever more grateful for one than William Cowper.* If the world had been searched, a more suitable home could not have been found than he had in her family. Here every wish was anticipated, every desire gratified, that a pure and loving heart could entertain; and in the quiet retirement of his little cottage, he spent his time as peace-

* This gratitude he has given most eloquent expression to on various occasions. In the whole range of his poetry there is scarcely a more beautiful effusion than the following sonnet

"TO MRS. UNWIN:

"Mary! I want a lyre with other strings,
Such aid from heav'n as some have feign'd they drew,
An eloquence scarce given to mortals, new
And undebas'd by praise of meaner things,
That ere through age or woe I shed my wings,
I may record thy worth with honor due,
In verse as musical as thou art true,
And that immortalizes whom it sings.
But thou hast little need. There is a book
By seraphs writ with beams of heavenly light,
On which the eyes of God not rarely look,
A chronicle of actions just and bright:
There all thy deeds, my faithful Mary, shine,
And, since thou own'st that praise, I spare thee mine."

fully and pleasantly as it was possible for him, whilst a tenant on earth.

In his letter to Joseph Hill, Esq., of June 24, 1765, he says, writing from Huntingdon: "I am restored to perfect health, both of mind and body." "I have a lodging that puts me continually in mind of our summer excursions: we have had many worse, and except the size of it, (which, however, is sufficient for a single man,) but few better. I am not quite alone, having brought a servant with me from St. Albans, who is the very mirror of fidelity and affection for his master."

His numerous letters to his friends and relations abound with expressions of gratitude for the happy circumstances which surround him in the family of the Unwins, and the society he found in Huntingdon. "As to my own personal condition, I am much happier than the day is long, and sunshine and candle-light alike see me perfectly contented. I get books in abundance, as much company as I choose, a deal of comfortable leisure, and enjoy better health, I think, than for many years past. What is there wanting to make me happy?"

The death of Mr. Unwin occasioned a change in their residence—the widow and family now removed to Olney, in Buckinghamshire, the abode of Rev. John Newton, then curate of Olney. Mr. Newton favored the change, and was happy in having Mrs. Unwin and family, with Cowper, under his care. They were equally pleased with being under the pious and devoted pastor of Olney; and no circumstance in the life of Cowper, in addition to the family of Mrs. Unwin, contributed so much to his happiness, and rendered his life one of so much peace and contentment.

In Mr. Newton there were united all the qualities which make companionship agreeable and profitable. He was a man of strong and robust intellect, of solid judgment and refined taste; with wonderful powers of conversation—to please, to edify, and to instruct; a man of warm affections, deep sympathy, and of abiding friendship; his piety fervent, solid, and rational. In all respects, just the man to be the daily companion and bosom friend of Cowper; and how that friendship continued through life and ripened, is a beautiful episode in the history of these two remarkable men. Newton's letters, next to Cowper's, are among the most beautiful in our language. They give to the reader the inner life of the writer, and are far from that stiffness and formality which always are seen in correspondence, having an eye to the "great public." They were written in all the privacy of personal friendship, and are filled with the outgushing streams of a heart alive to all that renders life desirable, or its relations and duties pleasant and profitable.

For ease and elegance, for wit and humor, for tenderness and affection, for delicacy and refinement; for all that we could wish in a correspondent, Cowper excelled; and his friend Newton was his counterpart in all these, wanting, however, that "gift and faculty divine," which Cowper so eminently possessed. Whoever would wish to study the life of these ulterior men, should read their letters. Their simplicity, beauty, and Saxon-strength, have awakened the admiration of the finest minds in the English world. Neither Walpole nor Gray can compare with them in these respects. We are glad that they used their pens so freely, and have left the impress, not of their minds only, but of their hearts, in the friendly missives which they so frequently sent to those whom they loved. These letters of Cowper never were intended by him for the public eye. He wrote them to his friends, and with no ulterior object. Shy and diffident, he never forced his correspondence upon strangers or chance acquaintances, but always waited for some opening in providence, before he sat down to pen them. Far removed from the circle of his early friends and near relations, he was glad of an opportunity of conversing with them in this way, and felt that he could more freely open his mind to them on paper than by oral communications. He was eminently social in his disposition, but serious impediments, such as we have referred to, prevented him from that full enjoyment which his nature craved; but with his pen he could talk with the utmost freedom—and how well—these inimitable letters fully show. Robert Hall was eloquent in their praise, and declared that they contained more beauty and finish than any letters in our language. Not one word or sentence needed any correction or change. His whole life is laid open to the reader in them, and it would be easy to give a faithful portraiture and detail of his character, pursuits, tastes, and employments, from their contents. Whatever interested him, he freely communicated to his friends, from "his three tame hares" to his translation of Homer; his glazing the kitchen windows, to his *Task*; from his learning to ride on horseback, to his more certain seat in the chariot of inspiration; from his epitaphs for the old sexton, to his translations from the Greek of Julianus.

Mary died before Cowper. Her death was calm and tranquil. Cowper saw her about half an hour before she departed. He was then very weak and much depressed, and on the morning of that day he said to the servant, who opened the window of his chamber, "Sally, is there life above stairs?" Absorbed as he was with his own increasing maladies, he did not forget the meek sufferer, now released from her prison-house of clay.

"And should my future lot be cast
With much resemblance of the past,
Thy worn-out heart will break at last,
My Mary!"

That heart at last was broken, and Cowper's end was nigh. He survived her, however, some four years, amidst great alternations of hope and fear, of joy and sorrow, of light and darkness. His last original poem was "The Castaway," in which his lyre, with unwonted pathos and sublimity, poured forth its notes of sadness, in which, we cannot but think, he felt that there was much resemblance between the struggling sailor in "Anson's Voyage" and himself, soon to plunge in that deeper ocean lying at his feet. His life-boat was at hand. A friendly voice heard *his* "shout." He was not "deserted" in that death-struggle. A "voice divine" allayed the storm. And that which to him seemed to be a "rougher sea," opened out to his enraptured vision the settled calm of an eternal rest. He died April 25th, 1800, and was born in 1731. He was buried in St. Edmund's Chapel, in the Church of East Dereham.

Lady Herketh, his cousin, raised a marble tablet to his memory, with the following inscription from the pen of Hayley:

In Memory of
WILLIAM COWPER, Esq.,
Born in Hertfordshire, 1731,
Buried in this Church.

Ye, who with warmth the public triumph feel,
Of talents dignified by sacred zeal,
Here, to devotion's bard devoutly just,
Pay your fond tribute due to Cowper's dust!
England, exulting in his spotless fame,
Ranks with her dearest sons his favorite name.
Sense, fancy, wit, suffice not all to raise
So clear a title to affection's praise:
His highest honors to the heart belong;
His virtues form'd the magic of his song.

A memoir of the early life of Cowper, written by himself, was found after his death. It was written chiefly for the perusal of Mrs. Unwin; copies of it were presented to Mr. Newton, and ultimately to Dr. Johnson. It is an affecting narrative of his mental sufferings and of his happy relief. No one can read it without being assured that his constitutional temperament laid the foundation of his insanity; and his gloomy views of himself as a sinner, and imperfect conceptions of the way of salvation through Jesus Christ, brought on the terrible crisis. Through life he was subject to exacerbations of mind, which brought him to the very verge of despair. And it is wonderful to see what an amount of healthful labor he performed with his mind and pen, during his long and painful life and history. At the close of his sketch of his early life he says: "I took possession of my new abode (with the Un-

wins) November 11, 1765. I have found it a place of rest, prepared for me by God's own hand, where He has blessed me with a thousand mercies and instances of His fatherly protection; and where He has given me abundant means of furtherance in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus, both by the study of His own word and communion with His dear disciples. May nothing but death interrupt our union! Peace be with the reader, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen."

His wish was gratified—nothing but death parted him from his second mother, Mary Unwin. The beautiful and affecting lines on his mother's picture will be remembered by the reader:

"My mother! when I learn'd that thou wast dead,
Say, wast thou conscious of the tears I shed?
Hover'd thy spirit o'er thy sorrowing son,
Wretch even then, life's journey just begun?"

Not only then, but in after-life, her "spirit hover'd o'er her son," and a portion of that rested upon "Mary" for his good! They have met in that better land, where all the pure in heart are going, and the reunion there will never be interrupted by the vicissitudes of this!

His admirable letters to Mrs. Cowper, found in the early pages of his correspondence, give his views at large on the subject of personal recognition in the world beyond, and doubtless he has realized its truth in the fullest sense. *That* mother and *that* Mary, Cowper still sees, and will for ever know! Happy release, oh child of suffering and sorrow, from a world so little fitted for so pure a spirit! Thy "Task" is done, but thy works shall follow thee! Glorious is the thought of meeting with the elder bards, and attuning the lyre to loftier songs of Creation, of Providence, and Redemption! We envy not the man who does not feel the inspiration of such lofty hopes and wishes for their enjoyment.

We do not deem it necessary to enter upon the practical life and labors of Cowper to any extent. His works are before the public, and accessible to all. His name is familiar wherever the English language is spoken, and quotations from his poems are heard in the pulpit, at the bar and the forum, and enrich our literature. We prefer to call attention to them as a whole, and with new fervor invoke the reading public to renew an acquaintance with them.

His love of nature and of his kind; his sympathy with the poor and the oppressed; his ardent attachment to home and country; his love of freedom; his piety and benevolence; his personal friendship and undying attachment; his taste for all that is beautiful and good; his wit and humor; his singular turn for the ridiculous; his profound learning; his admiration

for the Greek and Latin classics; his reverence for the Scriptures and all good men; his love for the Saviour and his consecration to His cause—these all appear in his poetical writings. We know of but *one* who has excelled him, and that is the author of "Paradise Lost." He has never reached the heights of sublimity of the mighty bard—the sightless—Samson Agonistes of song, but in the variety of his themes, the sweetness of his harmonies, the tenderness and delicacy of his thought, the ease and elegance of his versification, his humor and pleasantry, and the depth of his poetry, Cowper stands unrivalled. Who would ever have thought that the author of sixty hymns, in the Olney Collection, and of the "Castaway," could have written John Gilpin—the first poem that brought the bard of Olney into notice?

It is worthy of remark that Dr. Franklin was among the first to give an appreciative notice of the productions of Cowper—after the "Analytical Review" had severely criticised his published poems. The world might never have possessed "The Task" had it not been for the just praise and commendation of the illustrious philosopher.

The preface to his poems originally was written by John Newton, his warm and attached friend, and for many years his daily companion. Numerous reviews have been written upon his works, and several sketches of his life and more elaborate memoirs have been given of him to the public. To these we refer the reader; not, however, without making some observations of our own. But before doing so, it seems necessary to allude to his insanity, if only to ask, in passing, what was the cause of it. Different causes are assigned by different writers. But only two are worth notice—one is disappointed love; the other religious fanaticism. There is no doubt that he was devotedly attached to his first cousin, Theodora Jane, daughter of Ashley Cooper; and it seems equally certain that his passion was fully reciprocated. His timidity was such, that he could not command sufficient courage to make known his feelings and wishes to the lady's father. In time a friend did so, however; but the father objected, partly, he said, because the relationship between the young lovers was too close, and partly because young Cowper's income was scarcely sufficient to support himself. Those who deny that this refusal was the cause of his insanity, urge that it was precisely because the young poet was known to have a predisposition to mental disturbance, that his uncle would not hear of such a match. In order, it is said, that the young lady might be out of danger, she was immediately made an inmate of the family of a distant relative. The separation is referred to by Southey, as follows: "From that

time Cowper and the cousin he had loved so dearly never met again. Many years afterwards, when his intimacy with Lady Hesketh was renewed, he said to her, 'I still look back to the memory of your sister, and regret her; but how strange it is, if we were to meet now, we should not know each other!' The effect on Theodora was more durable. Neither time nor absence diminished her attachment to the object of her first and only love. The poems which, while their intercourse continued, he had transcribed for her as they were composed, she carefully preserved during many years, and then, for reasons known only to herself, sent them in a sealed packet to a lady, her particular friend, with directions not to be opened till after her decease. His death, perhaps, or the hopeless state into which he had sunk, rendered the sight of these relics too painful; and hoping that they might one day be incorporated (as they now are) with those works which will perpetuate her beloved cousin's name, she put it out of her own power to burn them in any darker mood of mind."

Many of his letters to Lady Hesketh are adduced as evidence that the poet's feeling for her, too, was much warmer than that of mere friendship. Whether such was really the fact or not, certain it is, that that generous and amiable lady was always his best friend. No doubt is any longer entertained that it was she who used to write him so many encouraging letters, bestowing judicious praise on his writings, advising him to persevere, and frequently enclosing him bank checks, when they were most needed. In commenting on these substantial tokens of good-will, Southey remarks:

"I have no means of ascertaining who this benefactor was; *though, undoubtedly, Lady Hesketh was*, as Cowper supposed, *in the secret*. It was not Lady Hesketh herself, because, after her offer of assistance had been made and had been accepted, she would not have affected any mystery in bestowing it. Nor is it likely to have been her father. Handwritings may, like faces, be distinctly remembered for twenty years, but in the course of twenty years both undergo a great, though gradual, change; and it is more probable that Cowper should be mistaken, when he thought he had detected his uncle's hand, than that the latter, choosing to remain unknown, should have given so direct a clue to the discovery. Could it be his daughter Theodora? Were it not that the comparison which the letter-writer drew between Cowper and himself seems to be one which would have occurred only to a man, I should have no doubt that Theodora was the person; and, notwithstanding that obvious objection, am *still inclined to think so*; for the presents are what a woman would have chosen, and it is certain *that her love was as constant as it was hopeless*. Hers was a melancholy lot; but she had the consolation of knowing now wherefore, and how wisely, her father had acted in forbidding a marriage which must have made her miserable indeed."

But we have stronger evidence than the opinion of any of his biographers, that whoever his anonymous correspondent and benefactor was, his regard for Lady Hesketh had more tenderness in it than the most Platonic could claim for pure friendship. One example will suffice here. Thus, the poet implores her to visit him at Olney; she, affectionate and kind as she always was, could not refuse. He writes back in a transport of joy, as follows:

"I shall see you again—I shall hear your voice, we shall take walks together; I will show you my prospects—the hovel, the alcove, the Ouse, and its banks—everything that I have described. I anticipate the pleasure of those days not very far distant, and feel a part of it at this moment. Talk not of an inn: mention it not, for your life. We have never had so many visitors, but we could easily accommodate them all, though we have received Unwin, and his wife and his sister, and his son, all at once. My dear, I will not let you come till the end of May, or beginning of June, because before that time my greenhouse will not be ready to receive us, and it is the only pleasant room belonging to us. When the plants go out, we go in. I line it with mats, and spread the floor with mats, and there you shall sit with a bed of mignonne at your side, and a hedge of honeysuckles, roses, and jasmine; and I will make you a bouquet of myrtle every day. Sooner than the time I mention, the country will not be in complete beauty."

To this letter nothing need be added to prove that the poet was warmly attached to Lady Hesketh; but far be it from us to allege that any impropriety resulted from that attachment. We do not believe there did. The character of Lady Hesketh was above reproach. The probability is that she knew her cousin loved her; but that she regarded him as a wayward child, who must be humored as much as possible consistently with propriety and decorum. But whether Cowper was in love with one or both of his cousins, there seems no good reason to believe that his failure to get married to either had much, if anything, to do with his insanity. All witnesses concur in the statement that not only the two sisters, but also their father, were friendly to him to the last; and in circumstances of this kind, there is no instance on record of insanity resulting to the lover. The case of Tasso is entirely different; for although the Princess Leonora seemed to retain her friendship for the author of the *Jerusalem Liberata* to the last, he was persecuted in every conceivable manner by the duke, her father. But far from persecuting Cowper, the father of Theodora and Lady Hesketh always treated him with the greatest kindness.

It is an unpleasant conclusion to come to, that in certain constitutions a religious turn of mind has a tendency to produce insanity; and yet such is the inference the case of Cowper

irresistibly leads to. But few in an age are like him. His faith in predestination was as gloomy and revolting as it was implicit and unalterable. It was his misfortune to believe that while all other souls were redeemed by the blood of Christ, in a certain sense, his alone was doomed to eternal misery. Not that he was entirely indulgent in his judgment of the faults of others; for with him almost all kinds of amusements were deadly sins. Thus, for example, Brighthelmstone was a great place for dancing in his time, and it was his deliberate opinion, often expressed, that a large proportion, if not the whole, of the ladies and gentlemen who took part in that amusement must necessarily be damned to all eternity; and while disposing thus summarily of hundreds of men and women whose reputation was without stain, he regards his friend the Rev. Mr. Newton as a true prophet, whose predictions might save all who had grace enough to put faith in them. Foppery and affectation he has attacked in all forms, in poetry and prose, as productive of some of the most gigantic evils that humanity is heir to in its degenerate state. Still he was not sure that either was so soul-destroying as Sunday music and other sinful things which the profane dignified with the name of amusements. In a similar manner he attributed every important occurrence to a special interposition of Providence. One illustrative instance will suffice in these hurried remarks—that in which he supposed that the death of the celebrated Captain Cook was a judgment on him for having allowed himself to be worshipped by the savages at Owhyee. Speaking of the travels of Cook, Cowper remarks, in one of his letters to Mr. Hayley:

“The reading of these volumes afforded me much amusement, and, I hope, some instruction. No observation, however, forced itself upon me with more violence than one that I could not help making on the death of Captain Cook. God is a jealous God, and at Owhyee the poor man was content to be worshipped. From that moment the remarkable interposition of Providence in his favor was converted into an opposition that thwarted all his purposes. He left the scene of his deification, but was driven back to it by a most violent storm, in which he suffered more than in any that had preceded it. When he departed he left his worshippers still infatuated with an idea of his godship, consequently well disposed to serve him. At his return he found them sullen, distrustful, and mysterious. A trifling theft was committed, which, by a blunder of his own, in pursuing the thief after the property had been restored, was magnified to an affair of the last importance. One of their favorite chiefs was killed, too, by a blunder. Nothing, in short, but blunder and mistake attended him, till he fell breathless into the water, and then all was smooth again. The world, indeed, will not take notice or see that the dispensation bore evident marks of divine displeasure; but a mind, I think, in any degree spiritual cannot overlook them.”

As to Cowper's works, none appreciate them more highly

than we do. We hold them to rank among the noblest productions of their time. There are passages in his poems which have not been surpassed by any other modern poet. *The Task*, justly regarded as his *chef d'œuvre*, is undoubtedly a great poem; or rather, a series of poems put together without much order, but abounding in graphic sketches of nature, charming portraiture of domestic life, and striking and excellent suggestions on the rights and duties of man. But it must be admitted that the same poem is disfigured with many faults. In no other similar production in the English language are there so many tedious and dreary passages. Nay, they are often worse than this—they are sometimes mean and vulgar. This is true, for example, of the mock-heroic passages called the *Sofa* and the *Monitor*, the former a very inferior imitation of the *Splendid Shilling*, and the latter a still more unworthy copy. Not unfrequently does the reader meet with an expression that is so low and coarse as to be absolutely disgusting; and nowhere is this more likely to happen than in the middle of a beautiful description of nature or domestic life. But the disgust is soon forgotten. We have hardly time to find fault before we are again astonished and charmed by the wonderful variety, vigor, freshness, and originality, which, in our opinion, form the secret of Cowper's popularity, and which will always secure him a high rank among the great minstrels of his country.

The same versatility characterizes the lighter pieces of Cowper. What most surprises the reader, aware of his morbid sensibility, is the playfulness and genuine humor that pervade most of them, and which, in the absence of other evidence, would seem to show that he was the happiest and most contented of mortals. What other inference, for example, could be drawn from his *John Gilpin*, which undoubtedly is one of the most humorous poems in our language? Indeed all his tales are excellent. Had he written nothing else, his *Bills of Mortality*, *Lines on his Mother's Picture*, and *Sonnet on Mrs. Unwin*, (already referred to,) would have proved him a powerful master of the passions. Perhaps no other poet of modern times has lamented his beloved mother in a strain which combines so much manly sorrow with so many tender reminiscences of childhood. And yet, in our estimation, Cowper is never so truly poetical as when discussing philosophic subjects. This seems inconsistent with the disturbed state of his mind; but it can be easily proved. With this view we have marked several passages, but must, however, confine ourselves to one. We select an extract from a fragment which Mr. Hayley was fortunate enough to discover by accident among some loose

papers found in the poet's study after his death. It is a philosophical address of somewhat less than two hundred lines to an old decayed oak in the vicinity of Weston. We choose this, however, not because it is the best specimen we could give—for, although certainly very good, it is nothing of the kind—we make choice of it because it gives a truer idea of the excellencies and defects of the author than any other piece of equal length in all his writings:

"Thou wast a bauble once; a cup and ball,
Which babes might play with; and the thievish jay
Socking her food, with ease might have purloin'd
The auburn nut that held thee, swallowing down
Thy yet close-folded latitude of boughs,
And all thy embryo vastness, at a gulp,
But faith thy growth decreed: autumnal rains,
Beneath thy parent-tree, mellow'd the soil,
Design'd thy cradle, and a skipping deer,
With pointed hoof dibbling the glebe, prepar'd
The soft receptacle, in which secure
Thy rudiments should sleep the winter through."
"Time made thee what thou wast—king of the woods,
And time hath made thee what thou art—a cave
For owls to roost in! Once thy spreading boughs
O'erhung the champaign, and the numerous flock
That graz'd it stood beneath that ample cope
Uncrowded, yet safe-sheltered from the storm.
No flock frequents thee now; thou hast outliv'd
Thy popularity, and art become
(Unless verse rescue thee a while) a thing
Forgotten, as the foliage of thy youth!"

Of Cowper's translation of Homer little need be said at the present day. It is certainly a more literal rendering than that of Pope; and yet it hardly does so much justice to the original as the latter's. This may seem contradictory; but it is not the less true. The language as well as the ideas of a translation should resemble the original. The language of Cowper does not resemble that of Homer; but is as unlike it as possible. In this respect his version of the *Iliad* has the same faults which we have alluded to in glancing at his *Task*—that is, the language is often so low and grovelling when it is required to be not only dignified but sublime, that his version of some of the finest passages in Homer degenerates into coarse parody. It is certainly with no disposition to find fault that we make this remark; we yield to none of our readers in our admiration of the author of the *Task*; but who that has any acquaintance with the sublimity and grandeur of the original, can say that justice is done to Homer when the godlike Achilles is made to complain that he is treated "like a fellow of no worth?" There is no such vulgar expression in the original; and the same remark will apply with equal force to such expressions as Nestor undertakes "to intreat Achilles to a calm," Agamemnon calls Achilles "this wrangler here," &c.

We might easily multiply instances of this kind; but they would only show that, although Cowper's version of Homer is a great work—one that would have secured him a prominent niche in the temple of fame had he produced nothing else—his part of it is vastly inferior to his original works. Had we no other translation of Homer but Cowper's, then indeed the latter would be invaluable; but as it is, the *Task*, with all its faults, is worth, not to mention the *Table Talk*, *Progress of Error*, &c., a dozen such translations.

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- ARR. IV.—1. *Pinkerton's Dissertations on the Origin of the Gothic Nations*. 8vo. London.
2. *Capitularia Regum Francorum*. Paris.
3. *Hallam's View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages*. 3 vols. London.
4. *Brussii Principia Juris Feudalis*. Edinburgh.
5. *Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England*. London.
6. *Caspari Bitschii Commentarius in Consuetudines Feudorum*. Paris.

FEUDALISM is usually considered to date from the days of Charlemagne; but it had then really attained maturity, and, under one modification or another, is doubtless coeval with the earliest stages of human society. So soon as men became gregarious, or collected themselves into groups for the purposes of association or protection, the timid naturally yielded to the ascendancy of the bold; and the boldest of their number, on being elected chief, as naturally endeavored to enlist the services of an intrepid race of followers in his behalf, either by making them concessions of territory, or by acquiescence in their seizure of it. Hence in the very earliest era of human institutions we find some traces of feudalism. In the East, where civilization dawned at a much earlier period than in the West, we find mention made of it at a period so remote as almost to appear fabulous. Long prior to the Macedonian conquest, Hindostan was divided into a number of kingdoms, and each of these in turn consisted of smaller principalities, whose power and resources gradually diminished, until, from the position of lords or chieftainships, they descended by degrees to that of centurions, village-heads, and the humblest vassals or tillers of the soil. Military service was the tenure by which

they all held their lands;* and the system at this period had evidently been in force for ages. In those mysterious documents, the Institutes of Menu, of which a compilation was made by Kullucca so early as 880 years before Christ, we find a record of it as characteristic of the followers of Brahma;† and, passing to the West, we have evidence of its existence at a period almost equally early. From the glowing and ever-glorious pages of Homer we learn that institutions resembling those of feudalism existed amongst the Grecian leaders who conducted the Trojan war; Achilles, the greatest of their number, deserting his leader, Agamemnon, in an outburst of passion or caprice, with quite as much alacrity as was ever displayed by a discontented baron on withdrawing his forces from the camp of his sovereign in the Middle Ages. The distant era at which this memorable struggle took place may afford us some indication how early was the origin of the institution; it having been thus recorded by the greatest Pagan writer of antiquity at least nine centuries before the nativity of Christ.

Passing thence to the era whence modern annals date, we can have little doubt of its existence in the reign of Augustus Cæsar, who conferred lands upon his followers on condition that the eldest son rendered military service on attaining the age of fifteen. Amongst the Germans it was also prevalent, as we learn from the concise and generally accurate pages of Tacitus. Macierouski informs us that it existed amongst the ancient inhabitants of Tuscany; and Major Denham, one of the most enterprising of modern travellers, states that he found traces of it in the interior of Africa.

Under Charlemagne, however, it first attained to maturity, and subsequent to him it was in all its vigor. Introduced, as De Moulin supposes, by the Franks into Gaul, it doubtless was in force during the rugged and obscure ages which preceded his accession; and he evidently was the first who reduced its rude and disorderly elements to shape, or brought them under subjection to his iron will. It was naturally the next state of society after the primitive monarchical: men, especially those of the lower order, naturally assembling and ranging themselves under the protection of some powerful chief, in proportion as society advanced. Protection for the progress of civilization and the arts of peace was thus obtained; and gradually freedom, if not refinement, was extended, when they fortified themselves in towns and cities. The chief's castle rose in their midst, and as, agreeably to Roman law, the descent of

* Tod's *Annals of Rajas, Thun*, quoted in Gleig's *India*, i. 18, 19. London, 1830. See also Finkerton's *Dissertations*, &c., p. 133, *et seq.*

† *Ibid.*, p. 11.

lands was limited exclusively to males,* his power soon became hereditary. If the city rapidly extended, the inhabitants gradually escaped from his control; but if, as was generally the case, the increase of the hamlet was slow and progressive, his power proportionately advanced, and he retained the inmates under subjection. Military service was the main, if not only, source of honor and emolument, and they remained faithful and subservient because they could enjoy none except what they derived from him.

Thus emanating from confusion and from barbarism, feudalism gradually imparted to mankind an aspect of refinement and civilization; rescuing them from the dark and savage state into which they had been plunged by the inroads of the Huns, the Goths, the Franks, the Lombards, and other barbarians who overthrew the colossal structure of the Roman Empire. Before Charlemagne it consequently attained its first stage; under him it grew to maturity and vigor; and when the power of his controlling hand was no longer present to guide and restrain it, gradually but rapidly in the reign of his feeble successors it acquired its full strength, overthrew the weak barriers of their power, until it attained its zenith; exhausted itself by excesses still more than by age; was crushed in France, first by the bold policy of Louis the Eleventh; afterwards entirely eradicated under the despotic egotism of Louis the Fourteenth; had previously been extinguished throughout Germany by the progress of the Reformation; was cast out of Spain and the rest of Europe by the raillery of Cervantes; and finds at the present day only a lingering shelter amongst the aristocracy of England, who now retain, chiefly by the influence of wealth and habit, that ascendancy which their forefathers originally acquired by rapine, havoc, devastation, and other excesses of the sword.

But it becomes necessary to consider the progress of feudalism more minutely. Sir Thomas Craig, a writer who has devoted considerable attention to the subject, divides this into four stages: The first two comprising the periods we have mentioned; the third, dating from the death of Charlemagne till the year 1024, when, by an extension of the Salic law, fiefs became hereditary in the instance of males; and the last, from the period until that when, by the general condemnation of mankind, the institution finally terminated.

In the course of this existence it naturally had many redoubted defenders, and aroused the enmity of not less numerous uncompromising adversaries. Conspicuous amongst the

* Blackstone, book iv., c. 33.

former was William of Normandy, who mainly, by means of feudalism, was enabled to achieve the conquest of England. By lavish promises of lands, he first enlisted the services of adventurers from all quarters of Europe, and by the fulfilment of these promises he mainly accomplished his relentless triumph over the unhappy Saxons. He accordingly, so far as he could, perpetuated its influence, and the band of marauders who followed him being solely indebted to it for the acquisition of their estates, were so zealous in its preservation, that it retains its place amongst their descendants till this day. In all other parts of the European world it excited uncompromising enemies. Rodolph, of Hapsburg, opposed it with all the foresight of his character and the astuteness of his race. The leading nobles of his empire looked with wonder, not unmixed with contempt, on the attention he bestowed on hucksters and burghesses; little surmising that he was thus fostering a commercial spirit which would ultimately prove fatal to their power. Untaught by their example and their fate, the French nobles equally contemned and execrated Louis the Eleventh, for what they deemed his low and depraved nature, in associating with his citizens and peddlers, and only awoke to a sense of their danger when these despised classes of the community arose to the condition of aspiring adventurers and merchants, who eventually overturned their ascendancy. From the church alone it received a support more dangerous than any species of opposition. Rome had the merit of systematically opposing this institution from first to last. The proud baron, sitting in his castle, paid but little heed to the humble priest. He looked upon him as an implement useless in war, and was disposed to prefer the rude jests of his buffoon in moments of wassail or of peace. The interest of the higher clergy was still more involved in arraying itself against the inroads of these feudal chiefs. The bishop's palace, the abbey, and the monastery consequently made common cause against them, inasmuch as they were often subject to their plunder, and still more frequently became obnoxious by affording a shelter to their foes. Motives of policy or considerations of safety might constrain them occasionally to temporize; but throughout the whole of its career the church and its followers might be considered as the secret and sworn foes of this order.

The institution, too, carried within its bosom the elements of self-dissolution. It was founded on principles intolerable to the independence, and utterly inconsistent with the welfare, of man. Emanating from tyranny, it extended and aggravated the system from which it sprang. The haughty baron acknowledged the supremacy of his sovereign only in war, and

disdained to follow him in aught save acts of despotism in peace. He submitted to the humiliation or necessity of swearing fealty to him on accession, but at all subsequent periods he claimed to be on terms of equality, or his peer. He assumed all the rights of sovereignty; he coined money; he waged war on his own account; he claimed exemption from all tributes save feudal aids; he equally demanded entire freedom from legislative control on the part of his superior, and the unquestioned as well as exclusive right of judicature in his own domains. The vassals under him were thus reduced to a condition of bondage. While claiming independence, he tolerated none, but reduced all within his sphere to his unbending will. The condition of his vassals was that of serfs. He suffered no question of his authority, and often claimed privileges of the most repulsive order. His vassals' lands, their chattels, even their wives and daughters on their wedding-night, were considered as at his disposal. A more intolerable system of tyranny, in fact, was never devised, and it ended by raising mankind against it in one universal shout.

Yet good, too, resulted from the otherwise obnoxious institution. The freedmen, or those who had obtained their liberty, generally by purchase, from their lords, nurtured a spirit of independence; and the freemen, or those who were born free, and in a still less degree subject to his control, yet farther asserted the native dignity of man. The former were a numerous race, and almost invariably remained attached to the soil where they had their birth. They usually cultivated a portion of it for their landlord's benefit, receiving the product of the remaining portion of it as their pay. Their condition was not that of entire independence, and in many respects was unenviable, but they exhibited in their humble sphere numerous striking instances of fidelity and attachment. They enjoyed the protection of their chieftain in peace; they followed his standard in war; and, as in the example of the yeomen of England, constituted one of the boldest and hardiest races of men whom the world ever saw.

The freemen were of a more roving order. They were usually either the younger sons of chieftains, or their descendants, and rarely born on the estate. For the most part they sought military service and adventures in a quarter different from that where they first drew breath, and mingled with the feudal barons more on a footing of equality than dependence. Attached to no special lord, they often transferred their services or allegiance from one baron to another, and were frequently not exempt from the imputation of a mercenary tint. They were usually the inferior companions of the chieftains they

served, occupying a mediate position between his peers and his ordinary freedmen. They attended him in his wars and participated in his revelry. They were familiar with the hunting-song and the wassail-bowl, and often, in the rare cases when they escaped being cleft on the head, became in their age a sort of boon-companion, councillor, or chamberlain in the castle, employed as a senechal in superintending the household, or as a judge in settling disputes among the inferior tenantry. In many respects, the character of these men was lawless and objectionable; but, especially as the Free Lances of Germany, they fostered and extended a thirst for liberty and a spirit of independence. At a later period, many of them became ennobled in turn, and received high offices in the empire and the various countries of Europe as the reward of their bravery or their acuteness. In the Crusades they were especially distinguished, and in opposing the Mussulman advance to the West, performed feats of arms of which Europe still rings with the renown.

Hence out of this system of freedmen, or yeomanry, and freemen, or an inferior order of knighthood, there gradually arose a spirit of freedom and independence. Feudalism thus was its own bane and antidote. Originally devised by sovereigns and their immediate creatures or followers for keeping mankind in subjection, it eventually nurtured a spirit which prompted these courtiers or barons first to beard their sovereign, and in the end aroused that general resistance to tyranny which ultimately gave freedom to man. In proportion as the system extended, it became more intolerable. When numberless despots oppressed a country, instead of one, the people, who formed the great bulk of the population, at last arose against them; and in such countries as France and England, monarchs of the astute and artful character of Louis the Eleventh and Henry the Seventh established their authority on a basis almost wholly despotic by craftily combining with their subjects to put the system down.

But other advantages emanated from feudalism. It afforded a cheap and ready defence for a nation; the whole populace being thus trained to arms. Under it, also, women rose to power, and chivalry, with its softening influence. Residing in a solitary castle on his own domains, the baron naturally spent much of his time at home when not engaged in war or in the hunting-field; and his wife and daughters thus had an opportunity of exercising their assuaging ascendancy over him when they laid aside the labors of the household and its cares. The wife and daughters of a feudal chief were usually amiable. Born and trained in isolation, they had generally all the inher-

ent gentleness of their sex, and gradually attained an ameliorating influence over him in his weaker and solitary hours. The picture of a feudal family is to us especially interesting; the rude and savage baron reclining at home, and his wife and daughters laying aside the needle, their amusements and their cares to dissuade him from some fierce project of violence and war, or console him if he had become the object of these in turn. But they changed him little: he usually sat in stern pomp, and his growl was law.

They were, on the other hand, when thus brought up in solitude, apt to indulge in the coarser passions, and to be destitute of that refinement, the result of association, which constitutes so great an ornament in their sex. Charlemagne's daughters were noted for their profligacy; and when desire thus broke forth, it is probable that the daughters of inferior feudal chiefs were not more delicate in their amours. The pride of birth may, however, have restrained them; for, unlike the heads of Highland clans, the baron stood in no relation of propinquity to his vassals, but held himself aloof in stately grandeur. Freedmen, serfs, and all alike were viewed with disdain by him; the control by his women he in his fiercer outbreaks scarcely brooked; yet it was from this despised population, and this comparatively weak power, that the spirit of freedom arose, and the elements of civilization issued. Europe, coarse and chaotic, thus first emerged from the barbarism into which it had been plunged by the destruction of imperial Rome, and until these humble adherents of the feudal system appeared, we find not the slightest traces of rising refinement. The feudal system consequently appears to have been necessary for the times; and to these rude and savage proprietors of fiefs, their despotic laws and noxious customs, the present state of society owes its existence. Their enactments in many cases became less despotic—in others, they were rudely snapped asunder; their feelings gradually became more refined, and their ideas more in unison with the great bulk of the population.

Other advantages, too, flowed from feudalism. In giving rise to chivalry, it gave rise to a state of society perhaps in many respects Quixotic, but which is still to be valued as the source of a lofty feeling, and a nice sense of honor that prompted men to consider an insult as more keen than a wound, and deem their *parole* as not less sacred than an oath. It was also productive of advantage, inasmuch as it checked any extensive schemes of conquest; feudal armies being usually able in the defence, but seldom competent for the permanent conquest of a country. It also indirectly encouraged commerce, by stimulating a passion for crusades and adventure;

and was hostile to a base accumulation of wealth, besides removing men from the state of slothful barbarity into which they had sunk on the fall of the Roman empire. No other state of society could perhaps have survived the chaos and confusion which then prevailed—a chaos and confusion so complete, that most of the writers of the era supposed that the end of the world was at hand. No epoch of the human race, perhaps, was more gloomy than these dark and repulsive middle ages; literature had sunk; learning had almost ceased to exist; universal stagnation was abroad, and nothing, seemingly, save the rude impulse of feudalism could have aroused mankind from the listlessness and despondency, the despair and the depravity that then threatened to engulf it. By prescribing a certain fixity of principle, it was also in some degree the origin of modern government. No feudal chief, however powerful, could disregard the opinion of his peers. Even the most powerful king found himself deserted in the field, if he ran counter to the feelings of his inferior vassals; and these, in the main, like mankind in general, were for the most part on the side of equity and right. An humble baron thus could not be oppressed even by his sovereign, without enlisting the sympathy and support of his fellow-chiefs; and had the same feeling been extended to the still humbler and more defenceless people, we might have had a state of society comparatively unobjectionable, and almost wholly in accordance with our modern code of government, which induces us to revolt at an outrage offered to the weak by the strong. Viewed in this light, feudalism is the parent of all modern commonwealths; and if the principle on which it was founded were universally extended, it would produce the most perfect system of government that the world ever saw.

But, unhappily, the blemishes and the crimes of feudalism far surpassed its beauties and advantages. If founded originally as a military institution, it was exceedingly imperfect; no force being more rude and disorderly than a feudal army. The chiefs knew not how to command; their vassals knew not how to obey; the former were chosen solely for their birth, the extent of their possessions, or the number of their followers, wholly irrespective of their own capacity or incapacity to command; and the other remained such a short period in the field, that they never acquired the precision and the firmness of disciplined soldiers. By their tenure, forty days constituted the entire period that a feudal army was bound to remain in the field; and often some of its principal leaders would disappear long ere this period, in consequence of some momentary disappointment or passing caprice. The whole force consequently

was utterly unreliable, and frequently vanished like the snow in the valley. The barons were apt to carry into the camp the same haughty spirit which they maintained at home;* and the soldiers more readily escaped from the vigilance of their wonted control. Unaccustomed, therefore, either to the advantages of obedience or the qualities for command, the whole were generally a disorderly rabble, more formidable to their own sovereign or prince, than to any foreign potentate against whom they might be directed.† An army thus constituted was usually alike feeble and undisciplined, inexperienced and intractable.

But far greater errors and crimes emanated from feudalism, considered as a civil institution, than any disadvantages and faults incidental to it as a military organ. It degraded labor, and regarded with contempt all avocations save those of war. Agriculture, art, commerce, were all looked upon with disdain in the middle ages, and those who followed them were considered as vile unless they attached themselves to the service, or held the stirrup of some lord. The mind was thus stunted, intelligence repressed, and all the higher moral faculties rendered subservient to mere brutal force. The serfs were taught to view their lord with the profoundest respect, crouch before him as a being of a superior order, and trained up in the belief that they were bound to sacrifice all, even their life itself, for the gratification of his whims or desires. A more perfect engine was never devised for the undue elevation of a few, and the general debasement of man; and so thoroughly was this feeling inculcated by the feudal chiefs—so widely was it acquiesced in by their slaves themselves—that even at the present day, in countries like England, where the institution still lingers, we find stalwart men considering themselves as of an inferior fabric, and lovely woman as of a baser order than a depraved and bloated oligarchy. The “villain,” as the serf was termed, received no consideration from man, no privilege from law; his sole protection flowed from the will or caprice of his chief; and such were the debasing effects of this arrangement, that the very name has now become a synonym for the vilest species of crime. The incubus pressed fearfully on the people. Unless a man were born within the feudal pale, he might extend his vision on all sides and discern nothing in reserve for himself, save infamy and desolation. The nobles in their castles had frequently to maintain a struggle for powers which they abused, but the whole life of the unhappy serf was one of hardship and woe. The petty vexations, not

* Hume, vi., 203.

† Ibid., p. 313.

less than the undoubted severities of the feudal order, pursued him wherever he went, and if he attempted to escape from one estate to another, he was generally followed as a slave, and returned as a chattel. On every side he beheld nothing but misery and oppression; and, even if of elevated mental power, could find no relief from either, unless he consented to withdraw himself from the living world, and entomb himself in a cloister; the church being the only sanctuary that afforded him the slightest shelter.

The church offered this slight protection; and inconsiderable though it was, the relief was great, inasmuch as no other was to be found. In every other direction the feudal nobles alike bearded their sovereign and crushed the people; he who had no place amongst them having no place in society. The protection afforded by the church, accordingly, trivial though it was, produced important results; and, without it, literature, liberty, justice, civilization, society itself, would have perished. This interposition of the Church of Rome in behalf of human rights and human reason is always to be held in respect and gratitude by posterity, for at this moment they found no other asylum; and though the higher clergy on some occasions combined with the feudal chiefs, the humbler priests were generally to be found on the side of the people; both ranks viewing the institution with jealousy and distrust, and secretly pursuing it with unrelenting hostility, until, in all places save in England, these oppressors of mankind were driven from their unmerited elevation and reduced to their inherent insignificance.

It were idle to attempt enumerating at the present day even a tithe of the iniquities and disorders of the feudal system. Selfishness and littleness were its main characteristics; the chiefs being generally intent solely on their own aggrandizement, and for this purpose distracting the peace and security of a kingdom in the numerous conflicts which they maintained either with their sovereign or with each other for the sake of enlarging their domains and increasing their power. The resources of a great country were thus exhausted in numberless petty struggles and debasing paltry intrigues, until the sovereign at last, by politic concession, enlisting and securing the support of the people to his aid, overthrew the numerous small despots who had perpetually annoyed him by their insubordination and the country by their oppressions. One vast system of despotism was thus, indeed, upraised instead, and in countries like France, it enabled the monarch for some ages to reign uncontrolled; but in others, as in England, some show of liberty was usually conceded to the popular will, and the yoke was mitigated, or at least disguised. The forms of liberty were

granted, though the reality was mainly withheld; yet even this was an important concession to the eventual freedom of man. The private wars to which feudalism gave rise are now forgotten; but their result remains in the permanent overthrow of the system.

Feudalism was also eminently the enemy of labor. It discouraged all the arts which tended to alleviate the hardships originally imposed upon man, and did all that it could to aggravate the alleged primeval curse. It was a despotism which denied the rights of life to the poor, and reserved them exclusively for a privileged class. It monopolized political power for the few, and doomed the great mass of mankind to an existence of toil, penury and insult. It was a system of unvarying and unmitigated tyranny, dividing mankind into odious classes and castes. Beyond its narrow circle there was neither free opinion nor progress, and even within the privileged pale all was stationary. Fixed rules and fixed principles—if they could be called such—regulated all things. Mankind were doomed by it to perpetual stagnation; and what rendered the yoke more odious was, that it was a yoke imposed by man. "The human individual grew indignant," says the French historian, Guizot, "on perceiving that the will that weighed upon him was a human, individual will like his own;" and though the proposition is not here either clearly or elegantly expressed, it is redeemed by a simultaneous admission from the same conservative writer, that "feudalism was perhaps the only tyranny that man, to his eternal honor, never would yield to."

Like many other assertions by the same author, this declaration is of too sweeping and comprehensive an order: for man, unhappily, during many ages, was constrained to submit to feudalism, and in Britain we see him voluntarily bending the knee before it still; but yet the system carried within its bosom the seeds of its own dissolution, and consequently little surprise need be excited by its destruction. Its extinction was accordingly hailed with delight when the institution was destroyed by Rodolph of Hapsburg in Germany, Louis the Eleventh in France, and Henry the Seventh in England; though in the last-mentioned country, in many of its most objectionable features, it still survives. Over all the rest of Europe a new phase appeared in society so soon as this system became extinct; and England alone now bears marks of its noxious presence. The deplorable results of it have recently been witnessed in that aristocratic incompetence which consigned a brave army to destruction in the Crimea; but the remains of the fabric will doubtless continue in Britain until revolution or foreign invasion sweeps all away. In the days of the Com-

monwealth the last of its forces fought in England; at present nothing but the slippered pantaloons survive. Throughout the Continent it was speedily extinguished, as an encroachment upon the rights of the monarch. In England it is yet permitted to hold its place, because it opposes a barrier to the progress of the people, the sovereign for obvious reasons acquiescing in this arrangement.

The character of feudalism may be briefly summed up. It was based solely on the license and ascendancy of a few, and the general dependence and degradation of man. It was a system despotic alike in theory and in practice, devised for placing all political right and territorial property in the hands of a class, and denying the great bulk of mankind, of aught beyond the liberty of mere existence on the meanest scale. Little surprise, therefore, need be excited that it has given rise to general execration—a feeling of wonder that it should ever have been allowed to start into birth, and of astonishment that it should so long have been tolerated. Its lingering existence still in England is only to be accounted for by some innate debasement of man, or such infatuation as that which prompts the dupes and victims of Juggernaut to prostrate themselves and place their necks before the ponderous wheels of the stupid but sanguinary divinity that immolates them. Even the most conservative of British historians denounces it as “a tyranny alike oppressive to the sovereign and the people;”^{*} while one still more unimpassioned and philosophic is constrained to admit that it was “a mixture of liberty and oppression, order and anarchy, stability and revolution, such as never was experienced in any age or any other part of the world.”[†] A great American jurist, imbued with their spirit, has happily blended the denunciation and the analyzing powers of both, by describing it as eventually proving itself to be inconsistent with a civilized and pacific state of society; and adding, “that wherever freedom, commerce, and the arts penetrated and shed their benign influence, the feudal system was gradually undermined, and all its proud and stately columns were successively prostrated in the dust.”[‡] Of American origin, delicacy prompted him to be moderate in stigmatizing its abuses. He might have been pardoned had he anathematized it as an offshoot of tyranny and darkness, utterly inconsistent with freedom and civilization.

^{*} Gibbon, chap. 69.

[†] Hume, vol. vi., p. 245.

[‡] Kent's *Commentaries on American Law*, iv., 443.

Having thus briefly considered the rise, progress, and fall of feudalism, we will now with still more succinctness allude to its influence upon chivalry and the ascendancy of woman.

Chivalry was naturally the offspring of feudalism. Like it, the origin of this institution has also been ascribed to the middle ages, but it was in reality long previously to be found. It cannot, indeed, be traced to an eastern origin, nor was it probably existent amongst the ancient Greeks and Romans; for, in the East, woman has invariably been treated as a slave, and the great western nations of antiquity nurtured a passion for little else than the arts and patriotism. Even in Homer, woman was looked upon as little more than a toy, with whom the savage warriors deigned to amuse themselves when sated with the struggles of battle, or exhausted by the pursuits of the field. But in the comparatively rude state of society among the ancient Germans, chivalry in its higher sense and due devotion to woman, were recorded in the days of Tacitus. That most faithful and concise of historians describes these virtues as characteristic of the Gothic nations of his era, and from an age immemorial. There is little doubt, therefore, that chivalry, like feudalism, took its rise in Western Europe many centuries before the period usually assigned to the nativity of either; and that both were in full force at the period of the Crusades, though this startling epoch in modern annals is usually considered as their origin.

It was unquestionably at this period, however, that they first came into notice. The feudal power had then attained its zenith, and was gradually falling into decline. The world was becoming tired of the dark and gloomy days of feudal despotism; the people were beginning to revolt against the tyranny of the feudal lords; sovereigns and princes were looking about for a means of putting an end to the assumptions of these haughty barons. The female inmates of the feudal castle, as already observed, had gradually been gaining an ascendancy over the rugged possessors of these fastnesses, and tempering by their softening influence the harsh and savage spirit of the barons. In the twelfth century, accordingly, a marked change took place. The coarse and brutal manners of the feudal chief were no longer held in estimation; his ferocious violence began to excite disgust, instead of inspiring awe. A spirit more gentle shed its first effulgent rays over the land. Man revolted at the idea of the tyranny and the tortures which had previously been prevalent, and even in some degree held in admiration. A spirit of resistance burst forth, and a new order of adventurers started into being whose main creed was fierce and

uncompromising hostility to despotism, whether it took the form of preying upon religion, on liberty, or on love.

The first, and especially the last of these impulses, were the main inspirations of the new excitement. The knights who now started forth into being cared little for liberty unless it concerned exalted personages. The slow ascendancy which woman acquired, remained and advanced even when the passion for liberty and religion had to a great extent vanished; and perpetuated as it now is over the new world of the West, there is little hazard in predicting that it will exist until true liberty and religion itself shall disappear.

The oath which the knight took on this occasion was chiefly to destroy infidels; slaughter of the inhabitants of the East being reckoned an atonement for every species of crime. It was now that chivalry came truly into action. Without the impulse excited by the Crusades, it would probably have expired almost in the hour of its birth; but these religious ebullitions fanned it into flame, and produced a spirit fierce and fervid, but rather fanatical. The good effects that might have sprung from the institution were thus early marred. The religion of the knights was too often synonymous with superstition.

The other part of the knight's oath was of a secular order. He vowed to be true to some often imaginary lady, by whose eyes he swore, and to some equally apocryphal patron saint whom he affected to regard with equal rapture. The lady, when existent, was usually an amorous matron, who, like La Dame des Belles Cousines, attempted to seduce some innocent youth into love, or some younger and more disdainful beauty who often dismissed her admirer on some dangerous enterprise in order to get rid at once of him and his importunities. However undeserving and disdainful these saints and ladies might be, they usually obtained credit from the knight for whatever success attended his achievements; and the most savage blows were dealt in the names of St. Patrick, St. Martin, and St. George, or some fair one to whom it might have been imagined the effusion of blood would have been equally distasteful. Sometimes the ladies, too, would impose upon the prostrate aspirant some ridiculous condition. One lady is recorded by the most illustrious of Scottish writers* as having enjoined an admirer to combat in her shift; and the conduct of others does not appear to have been especially marked by delicacy. *Amadis de Gaul*, the *Round Table*, and other lascivious books of the Middle Ages, were their favorite studies; and their conversation, often rigidly Platonic, was not unfrequently followed by acts of the coarsest gallantry.

* Sir Walter Scott, article *Chivalry*, in *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

Amongst the Northern nations, the habits of strict purity in which the youth of both sexes were trained, usually preserved them from these early contaminations; but in France, and the warmer regions of the South, chivalry rapidly assumed a lascivious aspect. Yet from this in reality emanated most of the gentler and softening influences of the order. Men gradually became less savage when called on to prostrate themselves at beauty's shrine; and woman imparted to them her assuaging virtues, if she was too often prodigal of her charms. The point of honor, too, began to be regarded as sacred. Faithful in his vows to the lady of his affections, the knight was expected to carry an equally scrupulous care for the character of his word into all of his actions. Hence arose that sanctity of *parole*, which, though dating from the days of Regulus, is the safeguard of all modern transactions; and which, even in the midst of despotism, reconciles us to tyranny, as affording us security in all the intercourse of daily life. It was the sanctity of parole which invested chivalry with that superiority it long maintained over the less scrupulous maxims of commerce; and still more than the refinement which the institution engendered has it, in the words of Burke, stripped vice of half its hideousness by stripping it of half its grossness.

But chivalry was early diverted from its true purpose by the machinations of kings. Ambitious princes were not long in discovering how it might be perverted for their views, by leading it in a false direction. Troublesome vassals at home were accordingly incited to engage in distant and perilous adventures, in order to relieve their immediate superior from their presence. The church, ever disposed to break down the feudal and military power, was readily induced to concur with the movement, if, indeed, she did not in reality instigate it. A thirst for Quixotic undertakings was consequently excited, and soon the passion for the crusades followed. Under the former Europe was overrun by a band of adventurers, wild as any subsequently ridiculed in *Don Quixote*, sometimes redressing real grievances, but more frequently placing their services at the disposal of whimsical dames in elevated life, for whom alone their sympathies existed; while under the latter, the whole continent was induced to precipitate itself in one maddening stream into Asia, carrying destruction wherever it appeared, and being itself almost utterly destroyed in the revulsion.

But this diversion of the institution from its original purpose tended also to withdraw it from its original design, and invest it with a still greater degree of a military aspect. Youth, destined for future knights, were now mainly trained

to arms. The institution being almost exclusively designed for those who were insultingly described as of "noble birth," the future knight was generally about the twelfth year of his age dispatched from the patrimonial castle to that of some higher friendly baron, where he would be under stricter discipline than if he had remained subject only to the laxity of paternal control. Here, under the name of Page, he was early trained to martial exercises. In due season he was taught to manage the horse, the lance, the sword, the bow; and varied these military exercises by attending his lord to the hunting-field. To the dangers of the chase he was inured; he was accustomed to spend days, and, if need were, nights, in the forest; to face the stag and wild boar, and sometimes grapple with the wolf. He had, of course, his moments of relaxation and repose. In return for these hardships, the more especially if successfully surmounted, he was permitted to bask in the smiles of the lady or a daughter of the house; and though trained to look upon them with most reverential awe, he was sometimes regarded by those fair ladies with a fervor which, as in the instance of the Dame des Belles Cousines, not unfrequently passed the limits of boyish attraction, and raised all the flames of lawless love.

The Esquire was the next degree in the order of chivalry. It does not appear that the Pages often, if ever, strove for this dignity. They, on the contrary, were rather high-born and pampered youth who aspired, after a brief novitiate, at once to attain to the honors of knighthood, or at least passed the intervening years in a species of idle luxuriance or gentle dalliance. The Esquire, however, was the faithful attendant of his master or the stalwart man-at-arms, who just as seldom, on his part, sought for the dignity of knighthood. He was constantly present with him in the field, and even in some degree discharged for him the duties of a valet. He took charge of the knight's horse, and had a special eye to the due care of his accoutrements. He was not only expected to dress his master for the conflict, but to observe with peculiar heed that the arms were perfect. A good Esquire was supposed to be capable of repairing a coat of mail, if need were, and he discharged many other duties which would now be considered as inconsistent with the position of a gentleman. He was expected to dance and throw somersaults for his master's amusement, and even to mount between the partition walls like a chimney-sweep, by means of his back and hands and knees. It was also considered a desirable accomplishment that he should be able to climb the reverse of a ladder by means of his hands exclusively, though it appears to us a more useful

feat that he should be agile enough to mount, or spring at full gallop from, a horse's crupper. He rarely fought in person, but bore his master's shield and helmet, and led his battle-horse; the knight, when on march, usually riding on a humble palfry. The Esquire, besides, took charge of the prisoners captured in battle, and was sometimes permitted to assist in taking them, though he never enjoyed much of the honor of the deed, still less of the ransom. Altogether, his duties and his aspect were considerably different from the modern opinion attached to the word, and which induces us to consider it as indissolubly associated with the proud designation of a modern gentleman. Every man in this position now-a-days considers it an insult not to be addressed as an Esquire; but the primitive meaning of the term was less exclusive. The main recommendation of the Esquire, in our opinion, was, that he was generally a man of modest worth and fortune, contented with his lot, who rarely aspired to the condition of knighthood, because his finances permitted not the elevation. He thus preferred remaining in a position of comparative independence, being unwilling to place himself in a position where his poverty would only become the more conspicuous. Some of these men, however, were equally aspiring and bold. They led their own followers into the field, and unfurled their own standard. They were a sort of democratic gentlemen, who disdained knightly honors; and, being thus haughty and independent, they naturally rose in rank as well as in popular estimation. In a subsequent age they formed some of the boldest of the chivalry of England—the race from whom the Pymys, the Hampdens, and the Cromwells were descended; and a modern Esquire or gentleman is justly considered the equal of any crowned head whatever; one of the ablest, and by no means most offensive of modern monarchs,* being more ambitious of the title of "First Gentleman in Europe," than of any other designation which as King of England he bore.

The knight was the last degree in the order of chivalry, and when the institution was in its vigor, he was considered the equal as well as the companion of kings. Monarchs indeed often strove to receive the honor of knighthood from some noted member of the order—as Francis the First, for example, from the chivalrous though somewhat Quixotic and exaggerated Bayard. Eventually, indeed, they monopolized this prerogative, as they monopolized every other; but, in the outset, the institution was of a more democratic character, the humblest knight being considered as the peer of the king.

* George the Fourth, whom it is now so much the fashion in England to deery, as it was formerly to flatter.

The ceremonies of his investiture have been already alluded to. Religious in the first instance, they gradually became military; though for long the knight, after receiving his titular honor on the field, or from the hands of the prince, was conducted to the church to undergo the ecclesiastical ceremonies also. When thus installed, he still remained subject to two divisions—the knights-bachelors, or single knights, who were too poor to maintain an equipage, and the knights-baronets, who were expected to bring at least thirty men-at-arms into the field, each attended by four men on foot, and a cross-bow-man with another bearing a battle-axe on horseback. A formidable force—often amounting to a thousand men—was thus frequently assembled under one knight, and these men often sold themselves as mercenaries in war. During peace, they maintained themselves in practice by attending the tournaments then so common; and monarchs then often held these tournaments for the purpose of assembling a large body of men under their banner—as in the instance of Edward the Third, who, prior to his invasion of France, invited knights from all quarters of Europe to attend at one of those absurd ceremonies. The pastime here, however, was sometimes dangerous, and eventually it became necessary to enjoin that the knight should contend with pointless swords and headless lances. Besides these weapons, the knight was generally armed with a mace or a truncheon, which he bore in front of his saddle; and though this may appear to have been a coarse, if not cumbrous weapon, it sometimes happened that an opposition knight had his helmet nailed to his skull by a stroke, though more frequently he was unhorsed by a blow from the lance, and often smothered on the ground in his own armor. This armor was generally of the most cumbrous description; a knight usually wearing one, and occasionally two cuirasses over a ringed coat of mail. Small honor was therefore due to them for the hardihood and havoc with which they attacked unarmed masses of peasantry, as in the *Jacquaries* of France; though, when gunpowder was brought into use, they experienced equal reverses and destruction in turn.

But long before this period, knighthood had begun to decay. The bannerets—or baronets as they subsequently became—had degenerated into mere mercenaries in war, or were conspicuous only for their pomp and wealth amid their hereditary honors in peace; and the knights-bachelors, from stationing themselves on some bridge or forest-pass to challenge all who disputed the supremacy of their lady's charms, were frequently guilty of committing open robbery on the highway. The knights-templars and the hospitallers of Jerusalem had also introduced some of the most obnoxious vices from the East;

and men who at first vowed to strike down tyranny and protect female innocence, ultimately indulged in every species of oppression and lust. The absurd practice of settling public as well as private disputes by duels, or judicial combats, likewise contributed to bring the institution into disrepute. A mode of combat designed to protect the weak against the strong, thus threatened to degenerate into hiring assassination for the benefit of the wealthy; and long before James the First had for ever degraded knighthood by rendering its titles hereditary and vending them for gold, the institution had become utterly contemptible in all parts of Europe, save in England. Previously, a knight had been degraded by being subject to have his spurs cut off by a cock's cleaver, his arms reversed by the hangman, and his sword ignominiously broken, if guilty of treason, falsehood or cowardice; but it was reserved for modern days to render the title synonymous with baseness, subserviency, and degradation.

But while viewing its present humiliation, we must not forget some of the advantages that flowed from chivalry. So soon as it was generally introduced, courtesy and refinement of manners followed, and wars were conducted with less barbarity. It became the highest source of human glory to rescue the weak from oppression, woman from insult, and unprotected devotees, such as hermits, from rapine. Punctilio also came into vogue, and a rigid adherence to the sanctity of his parole became the leading qualification of a gentleman. The sentiments which it thus inspired survived when the institution itself declined; and great part of that social equality which now exists in all the refined circles of modern life is mainly to be traced to chivalry. It contributed to the refinement and polish of Europe, and the beneficial effects of the example it thus inculcated are still at the present day to be traced in regions where republicanism has wholly repudiated the different gradations of ranks, which the institution acknowledged and engendered. It may not indeed be entitled to the high laudations of Burke, who proclaims it to be "the untaught grace of life, the cheap defence of nations, the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise;" but it is still entitled to the merit of having given birth to that sensibility of principle and nice sense of honor which rendered a stain more acute than a wound, and inspired courage at the same moment that it mitigated ferocity; though we wholly dissent from the opinion of the same philosopher, "that it ennobled whatever it touched."^{*}

^{*} *Reflections on the French Revolution.*

The objections to chivalry, on the other hand, were great. It impelled no patriotism, excited no love of liberty; it virtually abjured or ignored the humble, and it was mainly to courts and the lofty that its regard and services extended. It moreover produced a passion for useless enterprises and impossible adventures, and gave rise to fanatical outbursts of valor, which eventually degenerated into ridicule and Quixotism. Love under it was quickly followed by licentiousness, generosity gave rise to prodigality, and courage itself became synonymous with absurdity. The wild exploits of its knights, which formerly excited such admiration amongst the feudal circles whose sole literature they formed, are now only remembered with ridicule in the pages of Cervantes, or associated with the exploded and contemptible science of heraldry. Some relics of ancient stateliness alone at the present day survive those formalities which formerly were the charm of elevated society in Europe; but throughout the rest of the world those stately and fantastic manners are judiciously exploded as alike absurd and tiresome.

Numberless abuses, at an early period of its existence, crept into the institution, and the knights ultimately plumed themselves chiefly on their sensuality and ignorance. Originally its followers were constrained to study letters as well as arms; but eventually the most noted of their number could scarcely read, and knowledge at last began to be considered by them as the badge of vulgarity. Under such circumstances it need excite no surprise that their gallantry in the end degenerated into grossness, their religion into superstition, their courage into ferocity, and that the whole order became utterly incompatible with the existence and progress of society. Notwithstanding the occasional punishment inflicted on them, the knights at last became equally profane and intolerable. "God," said one of these worthies, "I beseech thee do to-day to La Hire as he would do for you were he God and you La Hire;"* and the Templars, it is well known, long before their suppression, had become not less blasphemous than arrogant and grasping. A general feeling of relief was accordingly experienced when dissipation and prodigality at last ruined the fortunes of the knights. Even the most religious of them, on returning from the East, evinced manners worse than equivocal, and the mind ultimately revolted from the idea of defenceless crowds being attacked by steel-clad men, who fought within their panoply of armor, almost incapable of being subject to the wounds they inflicted. Accordingly, when, in the end, solitary knights

* Villaret, *Histoire de France*.

were found acting as highwaymen, and knights-bannerets hiring themselves out as mercenaries, utterly contemptuous of principle; when in battle they were discovered to be solely intent upon obtaining booty, and invariably disappeared so soon as they had secured a wealthy prisoner, a general feeling of execration and contempt was excited, which eventually, to the signal relief and improvement of mankind, put an end, in the fifteenth century, to the order, in all countries throughout Europe, save in England, where its most absurd and noxious institutes still survive.*

We have dilated at such length on the advantages and disadvantages of chivalry that it becomes almost superfluous to sum up its character. Nevertheless, in a few lines this may be done, chiefly by appealing to the three great writers who are usually received as standard authorities upon this subject wherever the English language is spoken. The opinions of the equally celebrated Burke have already been cited. Hyperbolically devoted to the institution, he is opposed by the calmer judgment of Hume, the cooler philosophy of Gibbon, and in some degree also, by the weaker but graceful elocution of Robertson. The first of these great writers, whose *History of England* is only the more conspicuously brought into relief by the puniness of all subsequent attempts to imitate it, speaks with contempt of its "whimsical principles which in those times gave [savage] men some superiority over people of a more cultivated age and nation," and very properly alludes with disdain to the conflicts of the middle ages, as more resembling routs than battles.† The second, as might have been anticipated, is more decisive still; expressing his contempt for that order of chivalry which could never discriminate caution from courage, and those times when war was a passion rather than a science, every labor being held servile except the profession of arms, though, with the impartiality which usually marks his glowing columns, he pays due homage to that "true spirit of chivalry which inspired the generous sentiments and social offices of man."[‡] But it is the last of these authors who has, perhaps, most gracefully treated it and spoken of it with as much fervor, though perhaps more suppressed, as that exhibited by Burke for Marie Antoinette, in behalf of the equally unfortunate Mary Stuart. His graceful periods, however, are too well known for us to quote or recapitulate them here. All him, her own condition was raised in turn from being the mere

* For the "Virtues of Chivalry" in England the curious may consult Lyttelton's (*Lord*) *History of Henry the Second*, vol. iii., p. 161, *et seq.*

† Hume, chap. 15.

‡ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, &c., chap. 58, 59, 60, *passim*.

these writers, nevertheless, lose sight of the great fact that chivalry was founded on principles utterly subversive of freedom and equality; that it was designed solely for the benefit of a class, and that its followers were entirely contemptuous of the rights of the people. The welfare of the great body of mankind seems never to have entered into their thoughts; on the contrary, they appear to have spurned it, and in our opinion—in the discriminating opinion of posterity—there was infinitely more of cowardice than courage in the conduct of these steel-clad and panoplied knights, attacking unarmed and defenceless men. Still this was considered one of the greatest feats in the history of these nominally chivalric chiefs. Every battle of the Middle Ages teems with narratives of the sanguinary havoc caused by these mailed warriors and the caparisoned horses breaking in upon the ranks of almost wholly unprotected peasants. In the beautiful words of a popular tribune, not inferior in beauty and force of language to any of the authors quoted, the unreflecting are apt "to pity the plumage and forget the dying bird;" though to us the devotion of these knights to courts, their habitual contempt and enslavement of the people, appears far to have outweighed any service to civilization and refinement which they may have rendered.

But with chivalry, there was associated one advantage which still survives. It elevated the condition and influence of woman, and for the first time perhaps in the history of the world, viewed her as superior to mere sensual passion. The ancient Roman matrons, indeed, were invested with a certain character of dignity; but they were chiefly looked upon as designed solely for the propagation of Roman citizens and soldiers. Concerning those of earlier eras we now have no accurate criterion, save that in the time of Homer, they appear to have been regarded mainly as sensualists; and in the days of Abraham, principally as slaves. The rude denizen of the German forest first invested woman with superior dignity. She became the partner of his joys as well as the soother of his sorrows. Towards her, love for the first time ceased to be wholly lascivious. She exercised over him her softening influence and brightened his intelligence. She was no longer regarded as a mere animal, but imparted firmness to his character and elevation to his sentiments. She afforded him aid and counsel in life, tended him through all his hardships, and assuaged his sufferings amid the agonies of death. His mental powers were thus increased, his spiritual elevated nature was developed; she tempered his obstinacy into firmness, and invested him with a share of her own delicacy of thought. Having thus elevated

handmaid of household economy, she rose to her proper rank in the world's esteem, and became an object for devotion and respect, instead of one for mere pleasure and jest.

But if, with the progress of true chivalry, woman thus advanced, with its corruption she descended too. When women became the objects of fantastic worship and adoration, the weakness of the female mind was disclosed, and her character deteriorated. Her feminine delicacy diminished, her coarser passions augmented. She became the subject of ambition as well as love, and from her former condition of being man's slave, aspired to the rank of ruling him as a master. The inherent frailty of her character was thus disclosed, especially in those countries where she thus attained undue ascendancy. In France, for example, where from a position of less than domestic equality she was raised to one of political supremacy, all the baneful influence of female passions was illustrated. In England, equal grossness was in the interval exhibited in the character of Elizabeth, though this possibly in some degree arose from the absence of any Salic law to exclude her from the throne. Still, wherever woman has stepped from her sphere and aspired to be the controller instead of the companion of man, it will be found that the character and condition of both have deteriorated; and instead of becoming, in the glowing words of the poetical Burke, "a lily among thorns in the briery wood, with a smile pleasant as the light of morning, and an eye like the gate of heaven," she proves to be at once his scourge and his bane.

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- ART. V.—1. *The Pocket Encyclopædia of Natural Phenomena.* London. 1862.
2. *Vorlesungen über die Sternkunde*, 1833. (*Lectures on the Science of Astronomy, &c.*) Berlin.
3. *Researches concerning the Periodical Meteors of August and November.* By SEARS C. WALKER, A. P. S. Read before the Amer. Phil. Society of Philadelphia, and published in their Transactions. 4to.
4. *Relation Historique du Voyage aux Régions Equinox.* Paris. 1860.
5. *Transactions of the American Society.* Vol. VI.
6. *Exposition du Système du Monde.* Par LAPLACE. Paris.

OF all phenomena, none rivets the attention more, or leads the patient inquirer into richer fields of research, than the

brilliant and mysterious meteor which flashes out from the il-limitable ether, inspires us with momentary emotions of grandeur, and sweeps onward to the accomplishment of its lonely mission. And yet the mass of unthinking, self-absorbed observers allow those ebullitions of enthusiasm to subside, without any effort to inquire into the causes or effects of phenomena, the frequent occurrence of which, sufficiently attests their important agencies. The hackneyed routine of daily life saps the freshness of intellectual ambition; but it is grateful to experience even a passing admiration for those loftier natures who, rising above the sordid avarice of this plodding world, have loved science for the mental gratification it yielded them, and found their reward for long years of toil and sacrifice in the glimmer of an unknown planet, in the discovery of a new metal or shapeless aerolite. If, unlike these, we have neither the inclination nor the resources of pioneers, we may at least gather in the fruits of their life-long labors, and become grateful gleaners in fields still rich with ungarnered treasures.

Meteor. (the Greek *μεταωρος*, signifying high, sublime,) is a general term applied by meteorologists to all transient phenomena of the heavens, including both fiery and watery. To the former belong the shooting-stars. Fire-balls and aerolites, which, however unlike they may appear as they glide through the upper regions, can scarcely be considered separately, since they not only may occur simultaneously, but each assumes the character of the other, in the enumeration of their sparks, the size of their disks, and in the velocity of their motions. Like comets, they were formerly regarded by the ignorant as precursors of war, famine, pestilence, and national disaster, and only to be exorcised by prayer, conjurations, and self-abnegation. Their erratic wanderings have been found registered upon the mouldy parchments of monasteries, sealed up in the archives of the Greeks, and brought to light among the chronicles of the indefatigable Chinese.

Neither are the Scriptures without testimony in regard to this interesting subject; since we are told in Joshua, 10:11, that as "they fled before Israel, and were going down to Beth-horon, that the Lord cast down *great stones from heaven* upon them into Azekah, and they died." Profane history contains copious notices of aerolites. Damascius, in an extract of his Life of Isidorus, relates that a *betul* fell on Mount Libanus, in a "globe of fire." A fragment of Sanchoniathon, preserved by Eusebius in his *Preparatio Evangelica*, (1:10,) informs us that these stones were fabricated by the God Uranus, one of whose sons was named Bartul; and we are told in the

same chapter, that Astarte found "a star" which had fallen from heaven.

The famous stone known as the "Mother of the Gods," according to Appian, Herodian, and Marcellinaus, fell from heaven. Aristodemus affirms that it fell at the feet of Pindar, as he was seated upon a hill, and that it was encircled by fire. Herodian expressly says that the Phœnicians had no statue of the sun polished by hand, but that the supposed statue was only a stone, circular below, but angular above, cone-like in form, and of a black color; which, according to report, fell from heaven; and he adds, that it was regarded by the people as an image of the sun. It is recorded by Livy that 650 B. C., in the reign of Tullus Hostilius, a shower of stones fell on the Alban Mount. Among the most remarkable of *aërolites* is the large stone which fell near Ægos Potamos, in Thrace, about the year in which Socrates was born. Of this Pliny affirms that it was "as large as a cart, and of a burned color, and was exhibited in his day as a public curiosity." Plutarch, in the life of Lysander, says that the Chersonesi held the Thracian stone in great reverence. The fall of this stone is also registered in the Parian Marble Chronicles as follows: "From the time when *the stone fell* at Ægos Potamos, and the poet Simonides died at the age of ninety." Unfortunately, this meteoric treasure has been lost to the world; it is still hoped, however, that it may be found, although more than 2,300 years have passed away.

Caesar records the descent of an *aërolite* at Accilla 76 B. C. Another huge *aërolite* is that which fell into the river Narne at the beginning of the ninth century. It is described as follows, or rather referred to, as a miracle, by a Benedictine monk of that period: "In the year 921, in the time of Pope John X., in the seventh year of his pontificate, wonders (*signa*) were seen. In the city of Rome many stars were seen to fall from heaven. Those that fell in the town called Narnia were so black and terrible that nothing else was believed than that they came from the infernal regions. One of the largest which fell into the river Narnus projected one cubit above the water, where it may be seen to this day."—"Anno 921, temporibus domini Johannis pape, in anno pontificatus illius septem visa sunt signa. Nam juxta urbem Romam lapides plurimi de celo cadere visi sunt. In civitate quæ vocatur Narnia tam diri ac tetri, ut nihil aliud credatur quam de infernalibus locis deducti essent. Nam ita ex illis lapidibus unus omnium maximus est ut decidens in flumen Narnus ad menduram unius cubiti super aquas fluminis usque hodie videretur."—*Chronice Benedicti, &c.*

The celebrated stone of Ensishheim fell in 1492, and is recorded thus: "There happened a singular miracle; for between 11 o'clock and noon, there was heard a loud peal of thunder, and a prolonged, confused noise; and a stone fell from the air which weighed 260 pounds." It was seen to fall into a field, where the writer very naively says, "it did no harm, except that it made a hole there." Unfortunately, many pieces were carried away as curiosities before the landvogt exerted his authority to preserve it; after which, he caused it to be suspended in the church of Ensishheim, "to preserve it in the public recollection." In the Commentary of Surius, a Carthusian monk of Cologne gives an account of a shower of stones which fell in Lombardy in 1510, the heaviest of which weighed 120 pounds. These are described as having been harder than flint, and smelling of sulphur.

In the Memoirs of the Emperor Jehan-Schah, written by himself, and translated by Colonel Fitzpatrick, an account is given of a stone that fell in the province of Lahore in 1620. Ferisista has described the same in glowing colors, and adds, that "this son of thunder" was converted into "two scimitars, one dagger, and a knife," by the order of the emperor. The workmen to whom this unusual confidence was intrusted reported that "this son of thunder" was not malleable, and that it shivered when hammered; "upon which," says the emperor in his own Memoirs, "I ordered it to be mixed with other iron. Conformably to my orders, three parts of the iron of lightning were mixed with one part of common iron, and from the mixture were made two sabres, one knife, and one dagger."

We are informed by Cassendi, that in 1627, about ten in the morning, during a clear sky,* he saw a flaming stone descend upon Mount Vaision, which was surrounded by brilliant colors like a rainbow, accompanied by a report. It weighed 59 pounds, and its specific gravity was as that of marble as 17 to 11. In a very obscure book, printed at Paris, in 1672, it was stated that during a perfectly serene and mild night, "stones fell which seemed all on fire, and came from

* It seems that in general the clearer the sky in any particular region, the more fire-balls and shooting-stars it furnishes. Doubtless what is nearer the truth is, that more can be seen in such an atmosphere than in one that is dark and cloudy. It is estimated that ten times as many of each are seen at Bokhara as at any other place in the East, but the reason is sufficiently explained by Sir Alexander Burnes. "There is a constant serenity," he says, "in its atmosphere, and an admirable clearness in the sky. At night the stars have uncommon lustre, and the Milky Way shines gloriously in the firmament. There is also a never-ceasing display of the most brilliant meteors, which dart like rockets in the sky; ten or twelve of them are sometimes seen in an hour, assuming every color—fiery-red, blue-pale, and faint."—*Travels into Bokhara*, vol. ii., p. 158.

above;" and it is added that some three to four hundred eye-witnesses were greatly alarmed, and were at a loss what to think of it.

But still more extraordinary than any already mentioned was the shower of stones which fell near St. Aigle, in Normandy, on the 26th of April, 1803, and is described by many writers as among the most astonishing upon record. Aroused by loud reports like repeated claps of thunder, the people were surprised to find the sky clear, with the exception of small clouds, and that stones were being rained down from the heavens, accompanied with hissing sounds. It was noticed upon this occasion, that previous to the reports, the domestic fowls were unusually agitated, and that the cows bellowed as they have been known to do upon the occasions of earthquakes. The people, especially the women, were greatly alarmed, believing that the end of all things was at hand; and a laborer in La Sapée fell prostrate to the ground, exclaiming, "Good God, is it possible that Thou canst make me to perish thus? Pardon, I beseech Thee, all the faults that I have committed!"

There is an *aérolite* in South America estimated to be 30,000 pounds weight, and another 14,000. There is one in Yale College cabinet, from the Red River in Arkansas, which weighs 1,635 pounds. Pallas discovered one in Siberia which weighed 1,600 pounds, and which was found to contain crystals of chrysolite. An extraordinary fall of stones at Crema and on the shores of the Adda is upon record, and a very fanciful description by Petreus, Martyr of Anghiera, represents the darkness as being almost total. This fall occurred on the 4th of September, 1511, about mid-day, and was accompanied by thunder and lightning, such as, if Petreus is to be credited, "never was known by mortal before;" and he proceeds to say that "*Saxa demisit in Cremen si planitié (ubi nullus unquam æquans ovum lapis visus fuit) immense magnitudinis, ponderis egregii. Decem fuisse reperta centilibralia saxa ferunt.*"* The writer also says, that himself received a fragment, "the size of a fist," which he showed to King Ferdinanda of Spain, in the presence of Gonzalo de Cordova. Cardamus has left a more sober account of the same phenomenon, which he tells us occurred when he was about nine years of age, and estimates the number of stones which must have fallen to have been not less than 1,200, one of which was of an iron-gray color, and of great density.† According to a Mongolian tradition, a fragment of rock forty feet in height, of a black color,

* *Opus Epistolarum.* Amst., 1670. No. cccclxv., p. 245-246.

† *Opera*, ed. Lugd., 1663, tom. iii., lib. xv., cap. lxxii., p. 279.

fell from the upper regions upon a plain near the source of the Great Yellow River in Western China. In the year 921, an aërolite fell into the river Narni, of such huge proportions, that it projected four feet above the water: "ut nihil aliud credatur, quam de infernalibus locis deducti essent."^{*}

It would be impossible to describe the vast numbers of these interesting phenomena, all of which are more or less authenticated by reliable authorities, which are scattered through the writings of Howard, Thenard, Klaproth, Proust, Vauquelin, Langier, and the numerous writers familiar to observers of celestial phenomena.

Three hypotheses have been put forward to account for the fall of shooting-stars, fire-balls, and aërolites. 1st. That they are meteors formed like rain and hail, by the aggregation of their particles in the atmosphere. 2d. That they are projected from the volcanoes of the moon. (Laplace calculated that even at a velocity four times less than that of a cannon-ball, a body would reach our earth from the moon in $2\frac{1}{2}$ days.) 3d. That advanced by the German philosopher, Chladni, who published his views in 1797 and 1819, recognizing the connection between fire-balls and falling stones, and considered these bodies as small planets, or fragments of planets moving through space, and which lose their velocity when entering our atmosphere, and consequently fall to the earth. Other hypotheses have been advanced, which have received consideration. After the discovery of electricity, meteors were very generally attributed to that agent. Professor Clap, late President of Yale College, supposed meteors to be terrestrial comets, revolving about the sun, and becoming luminous when brought in contact with the earth's atmosphere. Two years after the appearance of the first edition of Chladni's treatise,† Litchenberg, in the *Göttingen Taschenbuch*, affirms that "stones reach our atmosphere from the remoter regions of space;" and we find this theory gradually receiving the support of Olbers, Benrenberg, Brandes, and indeed of most meteorologists of the present day.

The comparatively recent and memorable fall of shooting-stars which occurred in the United States in November, 1833, was a very striking confirmation of the cosmical origin of these phenomena, since it was shown by Denison Olmsted, at New Haven, Connecticut, that the fire-balls and shooting-stars emerged from the star in the constellation Leo, and did not deviate from that point, although, in the mean while,

^{*} MSS. from the *Chronicon Benedicti Monarchi Sancti, Andree in Monte Socrate*.

† *Nebst den Ursprung der von Pallas, gefundenen und anderen Eisen massen*.

the star changed both its azimuth and height. This entire independence of the earth's rotation proves, very conclusively, that these meteors must have reached our atmosphere from some region *without*. It is probable that very many of these cosmical bodies revolve about the sun, without even being acted upon by our atmosphere—while others may receive only a slight increase of eccentricity in their orbits, occasioned by the earth's attraction; all these must remain unknown, and their very existence problematic.

No where has there been a finer meteoric display, in modern times, than that just referred to. We are told that the stars fell, on this occasion, like flakes of snow, "and that no fewer than 240,000 must have fallen in the course of nine hours." "It would be difficult," says Mr. Aiken, of Maryland, "for one who had not witnessed the grand exhibition to conceive the effect of this uninterrupted succession of innumerable meteors, proceeding from a point so nearly vertical, towards the whole circumference of the horizon, and this, too, during the stillness of night, and with an atmosphere perfectly transparent. It could only be compared to one grand and continued discharge of fireworks, occupying the whole visible heavens." One ball was observed which seemed to cast all the rest into the shade. This is spoken of by an observer in Georgia as follows: "It seemed to pursue, as near as we could judge, a course from southeast to southwest, the ball being apparently five or six inches in diameter, with a train of from thirty to forty feet in length; the latter assuming, immediately on the passage of the meteor, a serpentine form, and diffusing a light upon the earth quite equal to that of the full moon, and remaining intense for at least forty or fifty seconds." Referring to the same ball, Prof. Olmsted, of New Haven, says that "it was observed to shoot off in the northwest direction, and explode a little northward of the star Capella, leaving just behind the place of explosion a phosphorescent train of peculiar beauty. This line was at first nearly straight, but it shortly began to contract in length, to dilate in breadth, and to assume the figure of a serpent drawing himself up, until it appeared like a small luminous cloud of vapor." We are informed by President Humphreys that "many persons became exceedingly alarmed; the light was so intense that some were aroused from sleep by the brilliant illumination of their apartments, and were under the apprehension that their dwellings were in flames." In commenting on these phenomena, M. Arago observes: "We thus become more and more confirmed in the belief *that there exists a zone composed of millions of small bodies whose orbits cut the*

*plane of the ecliptic,** at about the point which our earth usually occupies between the 11th and 13th of November.[†]

Shooting-stars, with which we became familiar in childhood, and which we never cease to gaze after with interest, fall either sporadically, or in large numbers and streams of many thousands; which latter phenomenon occurs at stated periods, and is termed periodical. The months of August and November have presented the most numerous and brilliant streams of shooting-stars, and there are at least five or six other periods of lesser manifestations, during all of which, it is observable that the stars proceed from given points in the heavens, Algol in Perseus forming the principal point of departure.

Edward Heis, of Aix-la-Chapelle, who has devoted ten years of close observation to the examination of these paths of divergence, says that he found those of the November period more dispersed than those of the August, and that besides Algol in Perseus, he found other principal points in Leo, Cassiopea and the Dragon's Head. Of 407 stars which were noticed as falling in four years, 171 came from Perseus, 83 from Leo, 35 from Cassiopea, and 40 from the Dragon's Head. This preponderance of the Perseus point has not, however, been obtained by other reliable observers, from which it is inferred that the centres of divergence are to be found in those constellations towards which the earth moves at the time of the phenomenon.

It is a question still open to discussion, whether the different points of divergence alter with the years, since it is found that certain points are always represented, while others are more or less variable. If these meteors revolve in closed rings, such an alteration would assume that the situation of the ring itself was variable. The usual number of falling stars is estimated by Herm. Julius Schmidt, after many years of observation, to be from four to five an hour, while in periodic meteors as many as thirteen or fifteen, and even one hundred and sixty, have been obtained. The periodic stream, familiar to us as the Laurentius, so called from its occurrence upon St. Lawrence day, upon which occasion the heavens were supposed to shed "fiery tears," first led to closer observations regarding the periodic returns of these brilliant visitants.

There was formerly preserved in Christ Church, Cambridge, a manuscript written in the tenth century by a monk,[‡]

* Kepler considered both shooting-stars and fire-balls as having nothing to do with astronomy, being, he thought, "meteors arising from the exhalations of the earth and blending with the higher ether." *Epit. Astron. Copernicanæ*.

† *Annuaire*, 1836, p. 296.

‡ *Ephemerides Rerum Naturalium*.

in which the daily phenomenon of the year was recorded. The Laurentius stream was noticed by the author, by inscribing against the 10th of August the word "*Meteorodes*." Que-telet, Olbers, Benrenberg and others afterwards established the periodicity of this brilliant phenomenon.

Although these phenomena have been considered as existing independently of the distance from the pole and all climatic influences, we may infer that some connection exists between them and the phenomena known as the northern lights, since the latter have been observed to glow with unusual splendor upon the occasion of most of these periodic returns. During the fall of shooting-stars in 1833 and 1838 this connection was remarkably obvious. Admiral Wrangel also bears witness that during his own observations on the Siberian coast of the Polar Sea, he observed that during an Aurora Borealis "certain portions of the vault of heaven which were not illuminated lit up and continued luminous whenever a shooting-star passed over them."* Instances are upon record, however, where no such dependence appeared to exist. On the night of the 12th and 13th of November, during a fall of meteors, a brilliant northern light covered the sky with a blood-red light. The shooting-stars darted across this region, but remained white. It does not follow that no affinity exists between the two phenomena, but simply that upon this occasion the northern lights were more remote from the earth's surface, and that the stars glided between them and the spectator.

The velocity of shooting-stars is estimated at from eighteen to thirty-six geographical miles a second, and that of four observed by Houseau, in Mons, as well as by others, had a velocity of between forty-six and ninety-five miles in a second, which is two to five times as great as the planetary velocity of the earth.

Fire-balls appear to move slower than shooting-stars. It is still questionable whether anything has ever fallen from shooting-stars to the earth. Many of them are only luminous points; others phosphorescent lines; others attended by luminous trains, miles in length, while the stars themselves are exceedingly variable, both in magnitude and color; the first increasing to the apparent magnitude of Jupiter and Venus; the latter including many brilliant hues. Of 4,000 observations, collected during nine years, two-thirds were found to be white, one-seventh yellow, one-seventeenth yellowish-red, and one-thirty-seventh green; thus proving that chemical differences exist in the elements of which these bodies are composed. It

* *Cosmos*, vol. i., p. 127.

has been conjectured that shooting-stars were of more brilliant appearance in warm than in cold latitudes; but this increased brilliancy may arise, not from any existing difference in the stars, but from the purity of the atmosphere, and its freedom from the clouds and haze which so often retard meteoric observations in colder countries.

In all climates it has been found that the greatest numbers of stars are seen to fall between the hours of two and five in the morning, and that the frequency of the meteors increase with the length of the time from midnight. It has been suggested that some variation in the time of the return of these stars might exist, called the horary variation, and M. Coulvier Gravier has contributed an essay upon this subject to the Institute at Paris, which treats upon "*La Variation horaire des étoiles filantes.*" The height of the points in which shooting-stars commence and cease to be visible have been found to vary in a great degree, since they fluctuate between sixteen and one hundred and forty miles from the earth's surface.

Although falling-stars and fire-balls are associated together, and the former are usually accompanied with the latter during their periodic streams, it is very doubtful whether they are to be considered as identical, since the fire-balls are more frequently seen alone, showing no periodicity, no preference for points of departure from any given constellation, and are slower in their progress; and while the falling-stars have left no known deposits upon the earth's surface, the fire-balls have covered the whole globe with unquestionable evidence that they have their origin in the realms of space.

It is claimed by meteorologists that the fall of aërolites is known to have occurred previous to the creation of man, although the most ancient falls, determined with chronological accuracy, are those registered by the Chinese as having occurred in the time of Tyrtæus and the second Messenian War of the Spartans, 179 years before the fall of the celebrated Ægos Potamos, and 644 years before our era. Sixteen falls of aërolites are preserved among the annals of the Chinese between the middle of the seventh century before Christ up to 333 years after his advent, while the Greeks and Romans have noticed only four during the same period.

For more than two thousand years all nations have recorded their observance of the fall of meteoric stones. Instances are given of persons who have been struck dead by them, including a monk at Crema, one at Milan, and two Swedish sailors who were crushed on shipboard. While the larger masses have been preserved as public curiosities, to which meteoric enthusiasts perform their literary pilgrimages, smaller fragments are

exhibited in cabinets and by scientific lecturers, including a perfect aërolite of Liliputian dimensions, considered by its happy possessor to be more valuable than a diamond of the same magnitude.

The crust or rind of the aërolite possesses characteristics peculiar to itself, being glossy, pitch-like, occasionally veined, and of extreme thinness. Pliny observed the peculiar color of this crust, since in describing it he uses the term "*colore adustæ*." The most powerful heat of porcelain ovens produces nothing similar to this crust of meteoric stones. Only in one instance has it ever been found wanting—that of Chautonnay.

In general these masses have shown neither fusion, compression by descent, nor any considerable degree of heat, although some few have been too hot to be handled, and others have been more easily broken the first than at any subsequent day. These stones differ materially in their specific gravity. The carbonaceous stone of Alais showed a specific gravity of only 1.94, while others have amounted to 4.28.

The metals which are known to enter into their composition are: tin, discovered by Berzelius; nickel, by Howard; copper and chromium by Langier, and cobalt by Stromeyer. Mr. Gleig, of England, has discovered lead in a mass of meteoric iron from Tarapoca, Chili. The mineral and simple substances found in aërolites combine to form mineral compounds, most of which are familiar in terrestrial rocks, one alone being peculiar to aërolites. This compound is known by the name of schreibersite, and is phosphuret of iron and nickel, occurring in small particles and flakes throughout the mass, and resembles magnetic iron pyrites so closely that it is readily taken for it. It is of a yellowish-white color—hardness 6, specific gravity 7.017. Schreibersite possesses magnetic properties, and may acquire polarity. It may be separated, both chemically and mechanically, from the meteoric iron, hydrochloric acid taking up the iron and leaving the insoluble portion. Very many of the aërolites must have fallen into the seas and oceans, and been buried for ever from our observation. Those that have fallen upon the land have not unfrequently presented the singular phenomenon of penetrating the earth to a depth very inconsiderable, when considered in regard to the height from and the velocity with which they have fallen. The mass which in November, 1492, fell in Ensisheim, weighing 276 pounds, was found to have penetrated only three feet; and the aërolite of Braunau, July 14th, 1847, about the same; but those of Castrovillari, in the Abruzzi, penetrated six feet, and that of Stradsehina, in the Agram district, eighteen.

It would seem incredible that with all the definite informa-

tion with which we have been furnished by men of the profoundest research and most unbiased judgment, there should still be found intelligent persons who question the cosmical origin of these interesting visitants. Much, doubtless, remains to be developed, and there will always arise some master intellects to guide us in our investigations after truth, as well as others less enviable who can only scoff at that to which they have not the capacity to attain.

There is one consideration which, more than all others, attracts us towards this most fascinating study of aerolites. Here alone we are placed in actual contact with a tangible object which has revolved without our atmosphere, and been hurled down from the mysterious realms of space, still warm with its celestial origin. Mute and stone-like, it is still the mystic key to volumes of pleasing conjecture, since we find hidden within its heart's core the hieroglyphics which establish our affinity with the globe, from which it has been sundered, in the metals and simple substances which enter so materially into the construction of our own planet.

ART. VI.—1. *A System of Phrenology*. By GEORGE COMBE. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

Phrenological Journal. New York: Fowler & Wells.

Sur les Fonctions du Cerveau et sur celles de chacune de ses parties. Par F. J. GALL. 6 vols., 8vo. Paris. 1822-1825.

2. *Lettre de Charles Villers à Georges Cuvier, sur une Nouvelle Théorie du Cerveau*. Par le Docteur GALL. Metz. 1802. 8vo.

3. *Anatomie et Physiologie du Système Nerveux en général et du Cerveau en particulier, &c.* Par F. J. GALL et G. SPURZHEIM. 4 vols., 4to., with Atlas in folio. Paris. 1810-1819.

4. *Observations sur la Phrénologie, ou la Connoissance de l'Homme Moral et Intellectuel, fondée sur les Fonctions du Système Nerveux*. Par G. SPURZHEIM, M.D. 8vo. Paris. 1818.

THAT falsehood lies at the surface, is as much a fact as that truth lies at the bottom of a well. But the tendency of the latter is to rise, while that of the former is to sink; in other words, it is the difference between the shadow and the substance, or that between pure, unalloyed gold and its spurious imitation. Let us give the counterfeit what name we may, it will not be denied by any one whose testimony is worth having, that it is often mistaken, even by men of a high degree of intelligence, for the genuine article. And what one deliber-

ately accepts as truth, he does not easily reject as error. This will account for all that has been said and written in favor of phrenology considered as a science.

But we wish to disclaim at the outset all intention of imputing to such men as Gall, Spurzheim, and Combe any desire to propagate falsehood or error, knowing it to be such. On the contrary, we cheerfully give each the credit of having honestly believed what they have taken such laborious pains to teach; although the most eminent critics of their time—those who knew them best, denounced them as quacks and charlatans. Thus nearly fifty years ago (1815) the demonstrator of anatomy in the best of the Scottish universities wrote in the *Edinburgh Review* as follows: "We look upon the whole doctrines taught by these two modern peripatetics, (Gall and Spurzheim,) anatomical, physiological, and physiognomical, as a piece of *thorough quackery* from beginning to end; and we are persuaded that every intelligent person who takes the trouble to read a single chapter of the volumes before us, will view them precisely in the same light." The critic then proceeds to show how much more easy it is to find dupes in some communities than in others, although no community is without a certain number of that good-natured class. "How many disciples," says the reviewer, "Dr. Spurzheim may have already collected from this class in England by his English book, or his lectures in the metropolis, we do not feel very anxious to inquire; because we are quite certain we should find that *they are more than ten times the number he has seduced from the same proportion of persons in any other nation of Europe*. Great Britain is a field for quacks to fatten in; they flock to it from all quarters of the world; and England is the sweetest corner of the pasture. Well has the learned and most witty historian of Mrs. John Bull's indisposition remarked, 'There is nothing so impossible in nature, but mountebanks will undertake; nothing so incredible but they will affirm!' As truly might he have added that there is nothing mountebanks can undertake, which John Bull will not think possible; nothing they can affirm which he will not believe."^{*}

^{*} We think it will be generally admitted that there is not a word of the above passage in regard to England as a patroness of quacks, but is at least equally applicable to this country. If fifty years ago the quacks flocked to England "from all quarters of the world," at the present day, the country to which they flock, above all others, is the United States. Still, indeed, they do a large business in England—ten times as much as they do in any other country in Europe; but it is no exaggeration to say that they do ten times as much in the United States, in proportion to the population, as they do in England. It is well known that many who have failed to secure any standing in the latter country, even among the most illiterate and gullible class, have been quite successful in the former. In all our large cities, but especially in New York, the quacks "fatten." None make so

The review from which this extract is taken concludes as follows: "We must needs indulge ourselves with a summary paragraph, too. The writings of Drs. Gall and Spurzheim have not added one fact to the stock of our knowledge respecting either the structure or the functions of man, but consist of such a mixture of gross errors, extravagant absurdities, *down-right misstatements*, and unmeaning quotations from Scripture, as can leave no doubt, we apprehend, in the minds of honest and intelligent men, as to the real ignorance, the real *hypocrisy*, and the real *empiricism* of the authors."* We might fill pages with opinions of this kind—those of the most learned and distinguished men whom Europe has produced, including Cuvier, Geoffroy St. Hilaire, Flourens, and Arago; but we will confine ourselves to one which may be said to embody the essence of all the rest—namely, that of Professor Wilson. (Christopher North.) which runs thus: "We have already said that, in our opinion, fool and phrenologist are terms as nearly synonymous as can be found in any language."†

Nearly half a century has passed since these opinions were expressed, and their general truthfulness has never been disputed by those best competent to criticise them. It is more than sixty years since Dr. Gall published his first book on phrenology; but it is still unrecognized as a science, except by a class whose numbers, never large, have diminished rather than in-

pompous a display at our Central Park, or are so scrupulous in regard to the livery of their coachmen. Those who were horse-doctors, or no doctors at all on the Rhine, the Rhone, the Severn, or the Shannon, become infallible all at once on coming to this country, even in the treatment of the eye and ear.

In order to secure the faith of the credulous, they commence operations by publishing letters from the spirit-world, from imaginary persons, or from persons paid for their good opinions; bearing testimony to wonderful cures of diseases that had failed all others who had attempted their treatment. Sometimes the parties who adopt this *modus operandi* employ some literary hack to get up a book for them, on what they call their profession. As might be expected, the "work" thus got up to order has not even the negative merit of grammatical correctness in its language; although full of ignorance and charlatanism as it is, Mr. Quack, its nominal author, could no more have written it than a man of ordinary talents and good education could have written the *Iliad*. Of course the "treatise" is duly praised at the rate of about twenty-five cents a line; and "the opinions of the press," thus obtained, are advertised as the testimony of disinterested critics!

Another party form themselves into a triumvirate, and call the rooms where they *take in* their dupes in more than one sense, a "Medical Institute," announcing themselves as "the faculty" thereof, and promising to cure all manner of diseases—"many permanently in one day!!!—others in a few treatments." If the dupes of these charlatans complain of being swindled, they receive abusive and threatening letters for their pains.

A third class try to render themselves famous by hiring penny-a-liners to write letters in their name to the newspapers, purporting to describe the various symptoms and other phenomena of the diseases, which they alone, above all living physicians, have the skill and learning to cure. As of course no intelligent editor would publish such performances for any literary or scientific merit which they might be supposed to possess, they have to be paid for as advertisements, the object of the quack being to impress the thoughtless and ignorant with an adequate idea of his wonderful knowledge and skill.

* *Ib.*, p. 268.

† *Blackwood's Mag.*, vol. 13, p. 109.

creased in the lapse of time. Nor can it be alleged that its claims have not been examined; for the most eminent physicians and naturalists of the nineteenth century have evinced every disposition to do full justice to whatever merit they might find it to possess; so that of no other theory or system can it be more truly said, that it has been weighed in the balances and found wanting.

We are well aware that the champions of phrenology pretend the contrary. They would have the world believe that it has never had a fair trial, but that it has always been assailed by prejudice and bigotry, and that it has been condemned only by persons incapable of comprehending its sublime truths. Many who are indifferent to phrenology think this is true; for there is no misrepresentation so gross or absurd but that it will be believed by a certain class, when often repeated.

But let us see what are the real facts. Before ever a word was written against Dr. Gall, in England or Scotland, his pretensions were ridiculed and condemned in turn by the most learned of his own countrymen. When he was silenced by this means, both at Vienna and Berlin, so that he saw no prospect of being able to turn his so-called discovery to any account, he pretended that he was persecuted by the Austrian government, knowing that this would secure him sympathy both in France and England.

In the mean time he had secured at least one disciple. Dr. Spurzheim not only embraced his doctrines with avidity, but also agreed to accompany him in his proselyting tour. The two doctors started together from Kirche in 1805, and their first care was to visit some thirty towns of Germany, Holland, and Switzerland, doing all in their power in each, by conversation, lectures, or articles in the local journals, according as one means or another seemed most suitable or convenient, to make converts, but with exceedingly little success. In almost every instance they were kindly received and well treated by physicians and naturalists—indeed, by all scholars—especially psychologists and metaphysicians; but their system of craniology, cranioscopy, or bumps, (for it received each of these names in turn,) received but little countenance.

At last the itinerant doctors arrived at Paris. The Institute was then in its glory. The chief of the anatomical department was no less distinguished a *savant* than Cuvier the naturalist, who had already rendered himself famous throughout Europe by his *Tableau Élémentaire de l'Histoire Naturelle des Animaux*, and his *Leçons d'Anatomie Comparée*. Cuvier was not the less polite to the German doctors because he was everywhere recognized as the greatest of living zoologists. It was

to him they applied for an introduction to the Institute; and he acceded at once to their request. On their desiring to be examined before that learned body, he requested them to dissect a brain privately for him and a few of his anatomical friends. He also attended a course of lectures given by them in a similar manner, and with the same view. Had the success of scientific truth, as a means of elevating the condition of the human race, depended on the dissections and lectures of Drs. Gall and Spurzheim, the great naturalist and demonstrator of anatomy to the Institute could not have bestowed more attention on their efforts. In short, he fully examined all their claims, aided by the most learned of his colleagues, but the result was adverse to their pretensions. Cuvier would not put them off, however, with his own private opinion. Through his influence, a commission was named by the Institute, to report on the labors of Gall and Spurzheim. The report was drawn up by Cuvier. However polite and friendly the *savant* was to the doctors as a private individual, when he came to pass a judgment on their pretensions, which all Europe was anxious to hear because it had confidence in the judge, he showed that there was really nothing of any importance in their system which had not been known to the medical faculty long before they were born. In a word, Cuvier considered the bump system as no system, and excused the Institute for having taken it into consideration at all. The sentence was passed in the politest terms, but it was nevertheless one of condemnation.*

The doctors and their disciples felt the full weight of this blow, and they did all in their power to counterbalance its effects. With this view, they made the same charge against the French Academy which they had previously made against the learned bodies of their own country; that is, they accused the commission of which Cuvier was the head of having been influenced by the authorities. They affected to believe that the members of the commission would at once have recommended the new system as one of the greatest discoveries ever made, had they not been afraid of Napoleon. The First Consul, they pretended, could not think of permitting the Institute to confer such an honor on Germans. This excuse was intended to do good, not in France or Germany, but in England; and it succeeded, too, to a considerable extent, although only a few months had elapsed since the same learned body had applied for permission to award the prize medal to Sir Humphrey Davy for his admirable galvanic experiments. Since Napoleon did

* The report may be seen in the edition of Cuvier's Complete Works, published at Paris in 1832.

not refuse his consent in the case of the subject of a power with which he was constantly at war, it was not likely that he would do so in the case of the German doctors, to whose government he was as indifferent as he was to themselves and their craniology. They made the most of the charge, however. In an elaborate answer (*réponse*) which they got up soon after, but which was intended for England, not for France, they made several accusations against the commissioners, the most serious of which was, that they did not repeat their experiments, as they should have done. That is, because, being satisfied from one series of experiments that the bump system was a humbug, they declined a second, it must follow that they were prevented by Napoleon from conferring so much honor on two obscure German doctors as to recognize them as the discoverers of the great science of phrenology! Puerile and paltry as the excuse was, it had considerable effect in England and Scotland, especially in the latter country. But the extracts given at the beginning of our article show what class of persons were so easily imposed upon.

The discomfited doctors would have crossed the English Channel immediately, but all intercourse between the two nations had ceased, and it was not deemed worth while by the authorities on either side to fit out a special expedition with a flag of truce for the accommodation and benefit of persons whose chief object was supposed to be to turn their pretended discoveries to some account in the way of money and fame. Feeling satisfied that they had no business home, at all events, where they were best known, they resolved to try another experiment with the Parisians. With this view, they got up a series of public lectures; and in order to add as much as possible to the attractions of these, they collected as large a variety of skulls as they could get for love or money, taking care to label a considerable proportion of them with the names of persons who had rendered themselves famous or infamous, it mattered little which. The Parisians attended in large numbers to witness the performances of those who, as they supposed, could tell their fortunes by their heads, as well as Mademoiselle la Nomande could with a pack of cards; nor could any fortune-teller, even of the Gipsy tribe, have promised much more than the learned doctors themselves. Accordingly they filled their purses handsomely, but made few, scarcely any, converts. However, as long as they got a reasonable amount of money they were philosophical enough to wait in hope for disciples. Thus did they continue to lecture, describe characters, &c., at convenient intervals, until they were prohibited as mounte-

banks by the French government, as they had previously been by the government of their own country.

In England nothing of this kind was to be apprehended. There, as well as with ourselves, quacks of all kinds enjoy the fullest liberty—a fact which, in our opinion, sufficiently accounts for the manner in which the fraternity *flock* to Great Britain, and *fatten* in it, as described by the *Edinburgh Review*, without attributing any peculiar tendency to gullibility to the Anglo-Saxon race. Perhaps if mountebanks were allowed the same liberty in France and Germany which they enjoy in England and in this country, they would multiply and fatten in the two former as they do in the two latter. But whether we or our English consins are the better or the worse for allowing this liberty, if liberty it may be called, and not license—whether we suffer more or less in body and mind by it than the French and Germans do from being denied the privilege of patronizing quacks—is another question—one best answered by the statistics of our insane asylums and graveyards.

Be this as it may, the itinerant philosophers were glad to visit England as soon as the communication with that country from France was open, and they were received with that hospitality with which the British nation is ever ready to welcome, especially those who can make any pretensions to be victims of persecution on the part of a rival nation. All classes were ready to hear what the German doctors had to say in proof of their alleged discoveries; but they preferred to read their arguments at home, in tracts and pamphlets, rather than wait personally on the authors. At this time the chief part of the work devolved on Dr. Spurzheim, his colleague having been seized with a fit of illness. The former laid his plans ingeniously for making proselytes in England; he opened the campaign by a dissection of a brain before the Medico-Chirurgical Society in Lincoln's Inn Fields, his object being to create the impression that his appeal was to the learned and scientific—not to the illiterate and credulous. A considerable number of the faculty attended—almost all in the metropolis who had attained to any eminence—but they proved to be by no means so easily convinced as Gall and Spurzheim had supposed. They used both eyes and ears attentively and patiently, but when called upon for their opinions not one of any influence was favorable. A course of lectures was then advertised, and duly delivered, but only to almost empty benches.

It would not suit Dr. Spurzheim to occupy his time thus unprofitably while his colleague was unwell; and accordingly he lost no time in leaving the metropolis for a tour through the

provinces. After having delivered lectures and "portrayed characters" at Bath, Bristol, Dublin, and Cork, with but very slender success, he proceeded to Scotland. In Edinburgh, as in London, he affected to make his first appeal to science; and the first scientific man to whom he applied was the author of the scathing criticism on his own writings and those of Gall, which had appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* for June, 1815. The critic received him courteously, and readily consented to be present at the dissection of a brain on phrenological principles. As he was himself a lecturer on comparative anatomy in the University, the dissection took place in his lecture-room, where all the students of anatomy were present, and as many of the other professors as took any interest in the investigation. But the critic remained unconvinced; so did his learned brethren, without exception. Dr. Spurzheim made a few converts, however, among the students—perhaps half a dozen in all, and twice that number among the lovers of novelty in the city, whose vanity was much greater than their learning, or intellectual ability. But even so small a number gave great encouragement to the doctor. He was wont to say to the Scotch, "You are slow, but sure; I must remain some time with you, and then I'll leave the fruit of my labors to ripen in your hands. This is the spot from which, as from a centre, the doctrines of phrenology shall spread over Britain." In this, if in nothing else, he showed considerable perception and sagacity. He saw that if there was a bump of credulity, it was much more strongly developed among the Scotch than among the English, Irish, or French; although it is but justice to the scientific and educated Scotch—those in the habit of thinking for themselves—to say that they were as wary—as little disposed as their French or English neighbors to accept the bump system as a science.

There was, however, one exception—we mean Mr. George Combe, the author of the volume which stands first at the head of this article, and which is undoubtedly the best and most complete work yet written on phrenology, containing, as it does, not only the author's own views, but the substance of all that is worth noticing in the works of Gall and Spurzheim. There are several editions of "Combe's Phrenology" which are very different from each other. That before us (the Harpers' edition for 1860) contains the latest improvements and additions by the author, including an Appendix, which embraces important documents, letters, &c. In order that the friends and admirers of phrenology may have the best facilities for combating our views, showing how absurd they are, and what a miserably small head we must necessarily

have, we will add, that the edition before us has the advantage of a copious alphabetical index, and is illustrated with one hundred engravings. Thus, in other words, if we misrepresent phrenology in maintaining that it is no science, but a chimerical theory that has been productive of incalculable mischief, and scarcely any good, we point out the materials by which we can be most effectually refuted. Mr. Combe is one of those good-natured individuals who will believe almost anything, if strongly urged by his friends. At the beginning he was as much opposed to phrenology as any person of equal intelligence; but his friend, Mr. Brownlee, invited him "to attend a private dissection of a recent brain, to be performed in his house by Dr. Spurzheim." This was quite enough. Mr. Combe went, saw, and believed. All of a sudden he was astonished at the beauty, truth, and philosophy of phrenology; his only wonder was, that the very first suggestion he received on the subject had not made him a convert; and he could only pity that obliquity of vision that prevented the learned in general, including Cuvier and the anatomical critic of the *Edinburgh Review*, from becoming converts to the same sublime science. Dr. Spurzheim might leave Edinburgh now as soon as he thought proper, feeling confident that the cause would be well attended to in his absence; and he left accordingly for Paris. On the 22d of February, 1820, was formed the great Phrenological Society of Edinburgh, which was to revolutionize the world, converting at least all Christendom to the bump system. Soon after the *Phrenological Journal* was started; but both ceased to exist long since, and there are fewer phrenologists in Scotland to-day than there were forty-three years ago.

Now before we attempt to show that what failed luminaries like Gall, Spurzheim, and Combe, was not likely to be accomplished by their small satellites in other countries, including our own, we will glance at the account which the original inventor, or discoverer, gives of the manner in which he was led to regard phrenology as the great science destined to cast all others into the shade.

"In the ninth year of my age," says Dr. Gall, "my parents sent me to one of my uncles, who was a clergyman in the Black Forest, and who, in order to inspire me with emulation, gave me a companion in my studies. I was, however, frequently reproached for not learning my lesson as well as he did, particularly as more was expected from me than from him. From my uncle, we were both put to school at Baden, near Rastadt, and there, whenever our task was to learn by heart, I was always surpassed by boys who in their other exercises were much my inferiors. As every one of those who were remarkable for this had large and prominent eyes, we gave them the

name of *ox-eyed*. Three years after this we went to school at Bruchsal, and there again the ox-eyed scholars mortified me as before. Two years later I went to Strasburgh, and still found that, however moderate their abilities in other respects, the pupils with prominent eyes all learnt by heart with great ease."

It was not alone among men our philosopher observed those differences—differences which, of course, had never been observed by anybody else before his time. By extending his researches, he soon made the discovery that the lower animals differ from each other in a somewhat similar manner. "I observed," he says, "a proportionate difference in the disposition of animals. Some dogs are born hunters, while others of the same litter cannot be taught; some are peaceful, some ill-tempered. In birds there is a similar diversity." Had it not been for his discovery, all this would have been utterly unaccountable; but that made the whole affair perfectly simple. If one hog ate chickens and other forbidden things, while another ate nothing but potatoes and other vegetables, it was only because the twain had bumps of a different kind. If one dog barked and bit, while another was as mild as a lamb, or if one hunted the hare and caught him, while another would only hunt rats or mice, it was only for a similar reason. If a man murders or robs his neighbor, or runs away with his wife, it is not because his education has been neglected—because bad instead of good sentiments have been instilled into his mind, or because he has been in the habit of keeping bad company, whose example has corrupted his mind. Nothing of the kind. In order to determine the real cause, we have only to run our fingers over his head, if he will let us, and the whole secret is revealed. In most cases, Spurzheim acts as the mouth-piece or spokesman of Gall, especially in giving illustrations. We extract a few brief specimens of the latter kind. Our authors desire to prove that everything of any importance that has been done can be accounted for on phrenological principles, and by no other means, as in the following instance:

"A hunting dog, when he was hindered from taking a good place near the fire, from his companions occupying every surrounding place, went out into the yard and barked; immediately other dogs did the same; and then he ran in and took the best place near the fire. Though he often deceived his companions, none of them was capable of imitating his stratagem. A little dog, when he was eating with several large dogs, behaved himself in the same manner, in order to secure his portion, or to catch some good bits. Such genius is not the result of instruction."*

Another dog story is told by Spurzheim as follows, to prove the existence of the bump of destructiveness.

* Gall and Spurzheim, p. 461.

"Gall had a little dog which had this propensity in so high a degree, that he would sometimes watch several hours for a mouse; and as soon as it was killed he left it. Notwithstanding repeated punishment, he had also an irresistible propensity to kill birds."—*Spurzheim*, p. 305.

Is it any wonder that Cuvier and other anatomists and naturalists of less note were disgusted with a system that had to depend on arguments like these?⁷² But let us see whether those deemed the most important and convincing are much better; we mean those founded on the phrenological appearance and character of criminals. Dr. Gall tells us, that when he visited the prison of Berlin, in 1805, he astonished all the officers of the establishment by the wonderful accuracy with which he described the characters of the inmates, from an examination of their bumps. Entering one department, he immediately pointed out an extraordinary development in the region of the head, where the organ of theft is situated; of course he was not in the least surprised to find, on inquiry, that every prisoner was a thief. Entering another room where all were women, he distinguished one from all the rest, although her dress and occupation were like those of the rest, and asked "For what reason is this woman here, for her head announces no propensity to theft?" The answer was, "She is the inspectress of the room." Turning to another prisoner in a miscellaneous department, he found the organs of cunning and firmness fully developed. From this he inferred at once that something very serious had happened; accordingly he found, on inquiry, that the bumps mentioned had enabled the possessor to elude conviction when tried for the murder of his wife!

It seems incredible that a man claiming to be scientific and to be the discoverer of a science destined to revolutionize the world, would put forth such silly arguments as proofs of the truth of his system; yet they are by no means the most absurd

⁷² But no phrenologists argue better, or perhaps as well. M. Villers, in his *Letter to Cuvier*, adopts the same logic. "About the middle of the squamous suture," he says, "directly above the *meatus auditorius externus*, is the organ of cunning. There is here a very considerable prominence in the head of the cat, and of the fox. It is remarkable, too, in knaves of every kind, and in all who are very expert in discovering their own interest. Those good souls that suffer themselves to be easily led, in short, all such in this lower world of ours as belong to the honorable company of the dupes, have in this part of the skull a very sensible hollow. Such heads in a revolution are not worth a single farthing; and on that account they are cut off by hundreds."

"Gall thinks that when this projection stretches forward, so as to come more closely on the front part of the head, it becomes the organ of inclination to theft. He has remarked it in many practised robbers, and in several persons who felt a secret inclination to steal without being in want of anything, and without any evil intention to the individual. In ravens and magpies it is strongly prominent; and he has remarked it in some dogs that refused constantly any food which was offered to them, and lived only on what they found means to steal. Very useful information this for the cunning masters of a family, in the choice of their domestics, and for M. de Barbe-Marbois, when he has next to appoint a clerk of the treasury."

specimens we could adduce. It may be perfectly true that Dr. Gall was able to tell who were the thieves, who the murderers, &c., at the prison of Berlin. But there were other means besides phrenology by which he could have acquired that knowledge; in fact, it was said at the time by those of his own countrymen who had the best opportunity of knowing, that before he had visited the prison at all, he was fully instructed as to the character of every department. Be this as it may, he was much more cautious when he visited France and England; although while in the latter country, after he had had time enough to make the necessary inquiries, he pretended to make several discoveries similar to those at Berlin. He did not succeed very well, however; but his most important theories were refuted. In proof of the latter fact, we need only refer to the numerous and careful experiments made by Mr. Stone, President of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh, the result of which he published in a pamphlet, convicting the phrenologists of having

"pretended to establish a system of philosophy founded exclusively on facts, and yet never had recourse to any fair or candid *experimentum crucis* by which the truth or falsehood of their primary propositions might be determined, they have adduced only *ex parte* evidence, and this, on their own showing, is of the most unsatisfactory kind, inasmuch as they have never established any STANDARD by which the proportions of the alleged organs can be determined; they have termed their organs "*moderate*," "*full*," "*large*," "*rather large*," &c., and these terms, to the present day, have been used without any rule or definite principle by which the application of them can be regulated; they, with an inconsistency, and yet a gravity, worthy of Hudibras, in his metaphysical disquisition, persist in seriously maintaining a science of *proportions* without a *scale* of measurement; they wander over the country preaching their doctrines *ex cathedra*, as though they had really a foundation in truth; whilst it is a notorious fact, of which they must themselves be aware, that there is not an eminent man of science in Europe who has become a convert to them; they profess to maintain, at all times, the principles of free and manly discussion; and for this purpose have founded a society in this city, for the admission of believers, and do not allow any stranger who may visit it to express an opinion; they profess that their doctrines are as well established, and as palpable to every inquirer, as the most demonstrable truths in nature, yet do not agree among themselves on the most preliminary points. Dr. Gall ridiculed the bumps of Dr. Spurzheim; Dr. Spurzheim rejects with disdain the callipers of Mr. Combe; and Mr. Combe has been lately engaged in an open phrenological warfare with one of the most intelligent of his contemporaries, on the subject of what is even the necessary result or tendency of their faith; they give an organ one function to-day, another to-morrow; they maintain that a large organ of veneration is at one time the characteristic configuration of the head of a saint; at another, equally essential to that of the most notorious and professed infidel! Lastly come the interminable combinations of their imaginary organs; and thus the

phrenologists shift from argument to argument, from position to position, resembling the ghosts in Virgil's Inferno:

"Hinc illae volitant, nec certa in sede morantur."

None, save phrenologists, who have paid any attention to the subject, will contradict one remark in the above extract. But Mr. Stone does not confine himself to general observations, however striking and undeniable those observations are; he enters fully into particulars, and confutes the phrenologists by their own arguments. All are aware of the importance which they attach to the phrenological casts of executed criminals. This pretension, too, has been fully tested by the learned President of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh, who makes the following report:

"When the criminal, having been executed, is cut down, the body is thrown generally upon its back, and the blood, which in cases of death by lightning, drowning, hanging, &c., remains uncoagulated, gravitates to the most depending parts of the person; a considerable distension of the muscles of the back, neck, and posterior parts of the head, is thus produced; and over this distension the cast is usually taken. The organs of the alleged animal propensities are in consequence made to appear very large, whilst those to which the intellectual faculties and moral sentiments are ascribed, for the same reason, and, from the contrast, present as remarkable an appearance of deficiency."

Wishing to have the opinions of other distinguished men on the same subject, Mr. Stone consulted several; and, without a single exception, the views of all were adverse to the pretensions of the phrenologists. It will be sufficient for our purpose to quote the opinion of Sir William Hamilton, one of the most distinguished metaphysicians of modern times. Writing on the subject to Mr. Stone, in reply to some queries proposed to him by that gentleman, he states, that "Taking the skulls of all the murderers preserved in the different museums of the University of Edinburgh, amounting to above a dozen, as constituting at once a *large* and an *unselected* series, I have ascertained that, whether compared with any general average, or with the heads of individuals remarkable for their moral and intellectual virtues, *there was nothing to warrant the doctrine of the phrenologists that such criminals are distinguished from other persons by any excess of the pretended organs of Destructiveness, and of those of the animal propensities in general, or by any deficiency in those dimensions which express the phrenological development of the intellectual and moral powers.*"

But the President of the Medical Society is not satisfied even with testimony like this. He takes the crania of eighteen murderers and compares them with two extensive series of other crania, and proves beyond dispute that the heads of such crim-

inals are not characterized by any superior development in the region of Destructiveness; on the contrary, he finds that the part of the cranium to which phrenologists refer the moral sentiments is frequently more highly and better developed in the crania of murderers than in crania in general. He gives various instances of noted criminals in proof of this—among the rest, Burke, and his equally infamous accomplice, Hare. The crimes of these two persons, or rather fiends, are too notorious to need mention here; but it was found, on careful examination, that the cerebellum of Burke was below the average. Measurement alone was not depended on in ascertaining this fact; its weight, too, was compared to that of the cerebella of forty-four subjects, male and female, adult and impuberal. Lest all this might not be sufficient to convict the phrenologists of false pretences, the same investigator also examined the cerebellic cavities in Burke's cranium, comparing them with the same in fifty-one crania, including thirty-three adult male, thirty-two adult female, and six impuberal female. The effect of these experiments on the operations of Gall, Spurzheim, and Combe, when the results were published, was apparent at once; for the more intelligent of their disciples dropped off in scores. The doctors had to change their plans accordingly. Hitherto they depended chiefly on the size of particular organs; now they affected to depend more on the size and form of the head as a whole. Formerly they wrote as follows:

"There is, indeed, throughout all nature a general law that the properties of bodies act with an energy proportionate to their size. Thus, a large loadstone attracts a greater mass of iron than a small one of a similar kind. The fermentation of the same fluid is more energetic, if its quantity be more considerable; and a great muscle of the same kind is stronger than a small one. *If the nerves of the five external be larger on one side of the body, the functions also are stronger on that side. Why should it not be the same in respect to the brain?*"—*Gall and Spurzheim*, 215.

Such experiments and expositions as those referred to, forced them to modify their system, so far as to say that the strength of any faculty depended more on the activity than on the size of its organ; but they still maintained that the bumps were a true index to the intellectual and moral character. This branch of the subject, too, was taken up by one well calculated to treat it—we mean Dr. Milligan, one of the most distinguished anatomists of his time, who, in the Appendix to Majendie's *Physiology*, is thus explicit and decided:

"The inner or vitreous table performs uniformly one office; it closely follows and embraces the figure of the brain, receiving the impression of every convolution, and penetrating into every fissure with

as much exactness, though not quite so deeply, as the membranes themselves. Meanwhile, the *external table* is no more a mere organ of defence than the muscles which cover it; it is an organ of *coaptation* or *articulation*, and accordingly is found to be impressed, elevated, and configured entirely, according to the necessities of this adaptation. Hence that line of it which corresponds to the transverse suture of the face is exactly adapted to the bones of the opposite margin of this suture, being thick where they are thick, thin where they are thin, serrated where they are serrated, and harmonic where they assume this appearance. *It exhibits no relation to the internal table*, till being again turned inwards along the roof of the orbit, it reapproaches and coincides with it to form the thin edge, which, like another squamous portion, is to ride upon the *alae minores* of the sphenoid bone. *The external table, then, of the frontal bone is in reality a bone of the face.* Hence its development, or growth, depends entirely on the growth of the bones of the face; for it has never been seen narrower or broader than the distance from the external orbital process of one malar bone to the other, nor placed so close to the internal table and *crista galli*; that is, was overlapped by the bones of the nose, or by the superior maxillary and malar bones. It follows, then, from what is said above, that the development of the internal table, and consequently of the frontal bone, follows the development of the brain; *but the development of the external table of the frontal bone follows the development of the bones of the face.* Now the brain, we have seen, arrives at its full size in the seventh year, which, therefore, is the period for completing the development of the internal table of the frontal bone; but the bones of the face continue growing to the twenty-first year, and hence anatomists find the dimensions of the frontal sinus go on increasing to that year; and the same authors generally find the sinus commence at the seventh year, because that is the time at which the nutritious arteries cease to do more than support its vitality."—P. 566.

We think we need refer to no other authorities to show our readers that there is abundant reason why phrenology has failed to make any impression in England, and why the impression it made in Scotland was, after all, but feeble and transitory. At one time it seemed to have taken root in the latter country. It has already been remarked that the Scotch are not only fonder of novelties than their English neighbors, but also more credulous; if we add to these two facts the talents and zeal of Mr. Combe, there will be no reason for surprise at the foothold which the new "science" acquired in Scotland. But however strong this foothold seemed to be for a while, it has met with the fate of all efforts, however industrious and persistent, to invest error with the vitality of truth.

Now we come to inquire why has it taken such root in this country? or rather, why have so large a proportion of our people suffered themselves to be imposed upon by its teachers? True, it may be said of this country as well as of England, Scotland, France and Germany, that scarcely any of its scientific or learned men have become converts to phrenology. For

our own part, we do not know one worthy of either name that has. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, both classes have as little faith in phrenology as their European brethren. The former, like the latter, have recorded their verdict against it on all suitable occasions—indeed, in almost every instance in which its claims have been urged upon them. We remember several such verdicts, but it will be sufficient for our present purpose to notice one. We have now before us a Report* of the "Fourth Annual Meeting of the Association of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions for the Insane," held at Utica in May, 1849, which gives an account of an interesting discussion on Phrenology, that took place at the afternoon session. Dr. Buttolph, of New Jersey, read a report on the relation of Phrenology to Insanity, which we are told in the pamphlet before us, "was very strong in its expressions, and indicated strong faith in phrenology; a faith which Dr. Bell proceeded to dissent from." There was not a single member of the Association who did not do the same. All were disposed to be as mild as possible in the expression of their dissent; none wished to be harsh in contradicting views in which the author of the paper had such implicit faith. For example, the most zealous Protestant gentleman would pause before he told an equally zealous and conscientious Catholic that purgatory and transubstantiation are false doctrines; and a Catholic gentleman would be equally cautious of wounding the feelings of the Protestant. It was equally reasonable that the doctors of the Medical Association should be polite to their phrenological brother. When this is borne in mind, it will be seen that the following remarks were sufficiently explicit:

"Dr. Bell had seen examinations made by able phrenologists, of patients under his care, and he had *never seen a case where a person of ordinary acuteness might not have given more accurate opinions.* He mentioned several cases of striking failures by Mr. Combe, and concluded by expressing a belief in the decision of Esquirol, based on the examination of one thousand skulls of eminent men, *that a knowledge of phrenology was of no use in forming an idea of the condition of the mind.*"

Dr. Bates said that he, "equally with Dr. Bell, had failed to satisfy himself of the practical utility of applying the principles of phrenology to the study of insanity. * * * He suggested the importance of minute observation of the external condition of insane patients *as to temperature.*" That is, Dr. Bates thought that it was of greater importance to see how hot or how warm the head was, than to examine the size of its bumps.

"Dr. Ray agreed mainly with the opinions of the gentleman who

* See *American Journal of Insanity*, for July, 1849, Art. iii., p. 56, *et seq.*

had spoken. But while he was satisfied that *indirectly* the introduction of the study of phrenology, by giving more and clearer prominence to the science of mind, had been beneficial in the study of diseased manifestations, yet he was of opinion that directly it had done little service, *as no one could ascertain by cranial examinations the particular disease within.*"

The meaning of this is obvious enough. Dr. Ray, wishing to treat his phrenological friend as gently as possible, confined himself to the suggestion that if the study of phrenology had done any good, it was only by exciting an interest in the true science of the mind; the same as a man whom an *iguia fatuus* leads into the ditch feels so uncomfortable in his new position that he exerts himself to such a degree that he finds a shorter and surer way than he would have found had he not suffered from any illusion.

"Mr. Bates followed, in reference to the tendency of size of organs to predispose to disease. *He did not believe a large organ any more likely to become diseased than a small one.*

"The discussion was further continued by several gentlemen. The president gave a couple of amusing anecdotes, illustrating his views of the uncertainties of examinations.

"A negro whom he saw examined, on being asked his own opinion of the correctness of the decision, replied, 'It is hard to tell what meat is in the smoke-house by putting your hand on the roof.' The Dr. gave an incident which occurred at his own institution. A somewhat noted blind phrenologist came to make examinations. *The doctor at first caused himself to be presented as a violent patient, and the phrenologist pronounced him deficient in mental development. Afterwards introducing himself in his true character, he was examined, and the verdict was essentially different.*"

It is easy to understand that none are better qualified to form an opinion of the pretensions of phrenology than the medical faculty, and that none of the medical faculty are better qualified than those who have had experience in the treatment of a large number of insane patients. But the few brief quotations we have given show how much faith such have in the bump system. It is but justice to our scientific men that the truth should be thus told; so that they may not be held responsible, at home or abroad, for the progress phrenology has made in this country. We cannot regard them as altogether blameless, however, for they should put the unwary on their guard against the imposture and charlatanism of the bump system, as their European brethren have done.

It is not, however, on account of their remissness in this respect that we have at least twenty phrenologists in this country for every one in England, France, or even Scotland. In nine cases out of ten their denunciations would have failed to reach the class of persons in America who give the system all the

vitality which it possesses, since it is the class of least intelligence and least thought of all who read—in short, the class who patronize the astrologers, cup-tossers, card-readers, dream-interpreters, and other fortune-tellers of the most vulgar grades. We may seem by this to do injustice to our phrenologists; but let the reader bear in mind what they promise their dupes for half a dollar, a dollar, or five dollars, and say whether any of the gipsy sisterhood alluded to promise more. The pretensions of Gall, Spurzheim, and Combe were sufficiently reprehensible; but they were good and honorable compared to those of their satellites in this country. The former confined their researches to the crania and to the various organs which they pretended to have discovered in the brain; but the latter pretend to find a language equally eloquent and *flattering* in the nose, the cheek, the hair, the lip, the walk, the laugh, &c. &c. As we cannot expect those not aware of the “lower depth” to which the bump system has fallen in this country to believe what seems so incredible without some testimony, we copy an extract from the advertisement of those who regard themselves as the high-priests of phrenology on this continent:

“‘NOSES’—*Their Significance*.—Roman, Grecian, Indian, Negro, Celestial, Aquiline, Turn-up and Pug Noses, with character of each. EYES, blue, black, or gray. LIPS, pale or red, prim or ponting, scolding or loving. MOUTH, large or small. HAIR, light, dark, coarse or fine, straight or curly. CHEEKS, thin, plump, pale, or colored. TEETH, regular or irregular. EARS, large or small. NECK, long or short. SKIN, rough or smooth. Illustrated with engravings. The walk, talk, laugh, and voice, *all indicate character*. We may know an honest face from a dishonest one; *we will show how*.”

Now we will place the advertisement of one of our female astrologers beside this, and let the reader decide for himself which has most quackery or imposture in it:

“ASTONISHING TO ALL!—Madame ———, seventh daughter, and born with a natural gift of foresight, to tell how soon and often you will marry, and all you wish to know, even your very thoughts, or no pay. Her magic image is now in full operation, and her equal is not to be found in the whole world. She gives lucky charms, and shows you a correct likeness of your present or future husband and absent friends without any charge. Fee only twenty-five cents; all hours until 8½ in the evening. Gentlemen not admitted.”

It seems to us that the astrologer is more modest, if not more honest, than the phrenologists. They are very silly indeed who believe that the seventh daughter can tell how soon and often you will marry, with or without her “magic image;” but we leave it to any intelligent, sensible person to say whether they are more so than those who believe that the color of the hair, the form or size of the nose, the size or color of the

lip, the length of the neck, the roughness or smoothness of the skin, can indicate the disposition, or serve as an index to the faculties of the mind. Surely the parties who make such pretensions should give some such hint as "Gentlemen not admitted;" although they would make a much nearer approach to honesty were they to announce, "Neither ladies nor gentlemen admitted except their ears are at least an inch beyond the ordinary size." But probably it has been found, from experience, that such an announcement would be altogether superfluous; for although, as we have said, phrenology has had ten times more votaries in this country than anywhere else, there has been a great falling off within the last two or three years; almost as great a falling off as there has been among the spirit-rappers, who, it is well known, are birds of the same brood. We have evidence enough of this reaction; and we hail it as one of the best signs of the times—for it is one of the most convincing proofs that our schools and colleges are improving. Thus, education has made great progress within the last three or four years; and phrenology and kindred delusions have retrograded at a similar ratio. We have abundant proof of this, but it will be sufficient to refer to one or two facts. The Messrs. Fowler & Wells, of this city, have edited and published three periodicals devoted to phrenology, and its legitimate, or rather illegitimate, offspring; namely, the *Phrenological Quarterly*, *Life Illustrated*, and the *Phrenological Journal*, of which only the last mentioned now exists. Nor is it likely that the *Phrenological Journal*, judging from its sickly appearance, will long survive its defunct sisters. Did we regard it merely as a business enterprise, we should be sorry for this; not that we are under any compliment to the proprietors. Personally we know nothing of Mr. Fowler, or Mr. Wells; we should not know either if we met him in the street. We speak of their performances, therefore, as we have of those of Gall, Spurzheim, and Combe, without any personal feeling one way or other; but we must say that, in proportion to their talents, the former have done vastly more harm than the latter.

Gall, Spurzheim and Combe have confined themselves to phrenology *per se*; at least they have not sought to dilate on its most objectionable features, so as to pander to the grosser passions of our nature. We are sorry we cannot say the same of Mr. Fowler, whose books on "Amativeness," "Matrimony," "Marriage," are of the most indecent kind which we have ever been called upon to examine. We have often seen books much less immoral suppressed by the police. Fortunately their chief attraction consists in their grossness. A

certain class will read even such for a while, and the consequences are seen in what is called "Free Love," "Passional Attraction," &c. We are glad to know, therefore, that Mr. Fowler's books are no longer read; although if he wrote decent books—books inculcating virtue rather than pandering to vice, we should be the first to recommend them.

In short, the only one of the brood of monsters which phrenology has fostered, if, indeed, they are not solely its offspring, which still possesses any vitality, is the so-called water-cure system, of which also we mean to have something to say in a future article. As for the movement cure, those engaged in it are in sad need of cure themselves; for the most stupid of those who have had any dealings with them have discovered the cheat. But the water-cure still flourishes, not because it is found to be better than any other kind of treatment, for it is not, but the reverse. We have known ourselves more than one who have been "packed" to death by our water-doctors. We hold that water is a most excellent and wholesome thing; none have greater faith in ablutions, or in the moderate use of the bath, whether hot or cold. But when it comes to packing one up in a wet sheet or blanket several times a day, in winter and summer, and laying him aside for half an hour or so to soak, as if he were a turnip or a pumpkin, then we say that, although certain of his bumps may be decidedly enlarged by the process, the general results are not favorable. But our water-cure establishments are generally very attractive places. Most of them afford excellent opportunities for reducing to practice the "truths" of phrenology, especially "free love" and "passional attraction." It may be said that one packed up in a wet sheet two or three times a day, and fed only on vegetables, would have no great passion of any kind. We have often heard such an argument used in defence of those establishments. But be it remembered that the superintendents are very indulgent, accommodating gentlemen. Even wine, nay, much stronger drink, they will allow, as well as meat, for a consideration, and at the same time allow exemption from the wet sheet and blanket. But all this, too, will come to an end before very long; at least the giant will be reduced to a dwarf. Already the public begin to find out the true character of these institutions, and when the veil is once moved, the charm will be broken.

But to return, if only for a moment, to the *Phrenological Journal*. We have said that it has rather a consumptive appearance, although it is well printed, on good paper. We have procured three numbers, those for July, August, and September, the only copies we have seen in several years. It may

be that these are not fair specimens of the general character of the work; we hope not, for they are very poor indeed. It is not, however, their literary merits or demerits we mean to speak of; in this respect they are, perhaps, not inferior to other publications addressed to the same class. It is the charlatanism of the publication we find fault with; that silly puerility that would have its readers believe that everything must be done phrenologically, in order to be done right; and in order to prove the fact, they are treated in each number to a series of stale portraits, or rather caricatures, the bumps of which are enlarged or diminished, according as required. Some phrenological characters are given in the usual style of the prophets of the past; characters which seem to us to differ very little, if at all, from those of the fortune-tellers already alluded to.

It is well known that none boast more of being "progressive" than the phrenologists; were we to take their own word for it, we should regard them as the advance-guard of civilization. But almost every article we find in the numbers before us would lead us back to the habits and practices of the dark ages. Thus, for example, among the first articles we meet with is one recommending flogging. It is headed "Shall we flog our children?" This purports to have been written *ex more* in reply to letters from numerous parents, who, of course, are aware that nothing which can be known here below is hidden from such accomplished phrenologists as the Messrs. Fowler & Wells. Nor is it about their naughty sons those parents write, but about their naughty daughters; for we are furnished with two specimens. We sub-join an extract from the first, which it will be seen is silly enough, whether we regard it as genuine, or got up for the occasion, which is far more likely.

"MESSRS. FOWLER & WELLS.—Having recently become a reader of the *Phrenological Journal*, I take the liberty of asking advice as to the proper management of my child, a daughter, now three years old. She is, and always has been, very forward in learning to talk, walk, and act in every way. She is very robust and strong, weighs forty-one pounds—full of life and mischief or fun. Now, my complaint about her is, that she is almost perfectly reckless—climbing, jumping, and placing herself generally in dangerous positions, causing constant anxiety on the part of her parents; there is a total lack of obedience, which is a great source of trial."

Letter number two is in the same strain; as if the two parents had compared notes before they made the "appeal to us (F. and W.) and the science of phrenology." The oracle replies as follows:

"Our correspondents are right in supposing that phrenology is able to solve all such mental and moral problems; but it must be applied understandingly to individual cases. We cannot give precise rules for

the government of a particular child, *unless* we know precisely what that child's *organization* is, as all are not to be treated exactly alike. There are certain general rules, however, deducible from phrenological science, and these it is our purpose to lay down at some length in our next number. In the mean time, we can only say in brief, that in our opinion phrenology does *not* prohibit the use of the rod; but, on the contrary, teaches that it is proper and *necessary* at times to appeal to *Cautiousness* through the fear of physical pain." * *—*Phrenological Jour.* for August, 1863, p. 52.

This needs no comment. We now turn to the rules promised for next number, which all respectable parents are to regard as the quintessence of wisdom and infallibility. But let us hear the oracle:

"In discussing the question—'Shall we flog our children?' we must consider them in the light of phrenology. *What are their developments? What classes of organs predominate?* In short, what are their dispositions?"

"Without taking sides, *pro* or *con*, on the question of the 'total depravity' of man, we may safely say that there is enough moral corruption—a sufficiently marked tendency to evil—to justify the position we have taken, that corporal chastisement is sometimes beneficial and necessary."

What all good parents have to do is to examine the bumps of their children, or rather to have them examined by Mr. Fowler or Mr. Wells, and apply the rod, or spare it accordingly; that is, the urchins should be flogged on phrenological principles. Further on, in the same article, the fact is proved after the following fashion:

"And these propensities—*Appetite, Destructiveness, Combativeness, and Secretiveness*—which give violence of disposition, temper, and *perverse*ness, are in many children 'rampant,' and seek gratification in a thousand mischievous ways. Children will pilfer, tell lies, fight, scratch, and bite, and, when older, the boys rob hen-roosts, fish-ponds, gardens, corn-fields, melon-patches, and fruit-orchards. Nothing is safe within their reach. If these things do not indicate 'depravity' enough to make our case good, we have but to refer to the terrible deeds of the howling, cursing, infuriate rioters of our city, and to the mobs of the Old World, for further proofs."—*Phren. Jour.* for Sept., 1863, p. 84.

If a mother finds the bump of destructiveness largely developed in her son, she must be sure to strike him on all suitable occasions. Probably the best way would be to raise another bump near the "rampant" one, by the application of the knuckles, or some harder instrument. At all events, let the "combative" or "destructive" urchin be dosed with blows in some form, for "moral suasion" is not to be thought of in his case. If anybody doubts the "science" of all this, he has only to remember the late "infuriate rioters of our city." The difficulty with the latter was not that their education had been

neglected, or that they had not been taught to reason, but their bumps had not been properly attended to in their youth!

The truth is, that there is nothing new in the whole system. It is substantially the same materialism taught by Epicurus, Zeno, and other Pagan philosophers; nay, it is nearly identical with that of Seneca, as any intelligent person may see by referring to his celebrated *Epistola* to Lucilius, in reply to some queries of the latter as to the nature of good. "Without doubt," says the tutor of Nero, "goodness is matter, since it acts; for that which acts is corporeal. Goodness acts on the soul; it gives it its form; it is, so to speak, its mould; properties which belong only to matter. Besides, are not those benefits which relate to the body corporeal? Those which relate to the soul are the same, since the soul itself is a corporeal substance. * * I do not believe you doubt that the *passions* are corporeal; instance *anger, love, sadness*. [Do not the phrenologists give each a corporeal organ, and make it strong or weak, according as that organ is large or small?] If you doubt, consider *to what extent they alter the countenance*, contract the forehead, brighten up the features, excite a blush, or repress the blood to the heart. Do you believe that an *incorporeal cause could make impressions so corporeal*? If the passions are corporeal, the maladies of the soul are the same; such as avarice, (Acquisitiveness,) cruelty, (Destructiveness,) and generally all the inveterate and incorrigible vices. [Do not the phrenologists pretend to lay their fingers on the very pieces of matter which produce those passions, as the acorn produces the oak?] * * * Do you not see what fire courage (Combativeness) gives to the eyes, what attentive looks has prudence, (Cautiousness,) what dignity and calmness, respect, (Self-Esteem,) &c.? * * Whatever has the power to repress, constrain, retain, or command, is corporeal; but does not fear restrain? does not audacity press forward? does not courage give impetuosity and impulse? is not moderation a bridle which holds? does not joy elevate? does not grief depress? &c., &c."

Even Pagan writers, all the first order of intellects, thought these doctrines as odious as they are absurd; suffice it to mention Aristotle among the Greeks, and Cicero among the Romans. "Nothing in the mind," says the Stagyrice, "is mixed or concrete, or is produced or formed from earth," (*ex terra natum*.) The Roman philosopher discusses the question at length in his *Tusculan Disputations*. "What, then," he asks, "is that power in us which seeks what is hidden, which invents and imagines? Can it seem to you to be formed of terrestrial clay? Is it but a mortal and perishable substance?

* * Yes, certainly, that faculty is divine which produces so many and so great things. What shall I say of the memory, which retains all, and of the mind, which invents all? I dare affirm that that power is what is greatest in God himself.
 * * What, then, is really divine? *Action, reason, thought, memory, (eigere, sapere, invenire, meminisse.)* These are the attributes of the soul; it is, then, divine; and if I dared to express myself poetically, like Euripides, I would say the soul is a God.*

M. Laharpe, in denouncing the materialism of the *System of Nature*, which, ignoring a thinking faculty, an immaterial soul, gives the brain the credit for all our perceptions, (*chez lui c'est le cerveau qui seul a toutes les perceptions.*) makes the following remarks, which are as applicable to the pretensions of our phrenologists as to those of the atheistical work to which they were originally applied; since, as we have already observed, phrenology is but the materialism of Epicurus and Zeno under a new name, and materialism is but the stepping-stone to atheism; if, indeed, the two doctrines are not identical. "How, in effect, can it be conceived," says Laharpe, "that the brain, (*cerveau*.) a membrane, a spongy tissue—in a word, a particle of matter—forms judgment? Common sense revolts against it, as every candid man must admit. Why should my brain judge more than my foot, or my hand? Why should one particle of matter be capable of reasoning more than another? Has the cellular tissue a closer relation with reason and thought than my nerves, my muscles, my fibres, &c.? I can conceive very well how all the parts of my body are affected, shaken, modified by the foreign bodies which come in contact with them; but no one will ever make me understand by what privilege my brain can reason while my ear cannot."†

We might easily accumulate the testimony of the greatest minds, ancient and modern, to the same effect; but we think

* "Quid? illa vis quae tandem est, quae investigat occulta, quae inventio atque excoegitatio dicitur? Ex hacne tibi torrens mortalique natura et caduca concreta diletur? * * Proorsus haec divipa mihi videtur vis quae lot res efficiat et tantas. Quid est enim memoria rerum et verborum? Quid porro inventio?" &c., *Tuscul. Disp.*, lib. I. cap. xxvi.

† "Comment en effet concevoir que le *cerveau*, qu'une membrane, un tissu spongieux, en un mot, une particule de matière, quelconque, forme des *jugemens*? Le sens intime y répugne; tout homme de bonne foi doit l'avouer. Pourquoi mon *cerveau jugerait*, il plutôt que mon pied ou ma main? Pour quoi tel morceau de matière serait-il capable de *raisonner* plutôt qu'un autre? Le *tissu cellulaire* a-t-il plus de rapport avec le raisonnement, et la pensée, que mes nerfs, mes muscles, mes fibres, &c.? Je conçois fort bien comment toutes les parties de mon corps sont affectées, ébranlées, modifiées par les corps étrangers qui ont des rapports avec le mien; mais personne ne me fera jamais comprendre par quel privilège mon *cerveau* raisonnerait quand mon oreille ne raisonne pas."—*Cours de Littérature Ancienne et Moderne*, &c. Par J. F. Laharpe. Tome xvi., pp. 332-3.

we have adduced facts enough to accomplish our present purpose—that is, to convince any intelligent person not blinded by prejudice, not only that phrenology is no science, but that it is an instrument of fraud and imposture, by which an incalculable amount of injury has been inflicted on society by unprincipled men, who have multiplied a hundred-fold all the evils which the system possessed in the hands of Gall, Spurzheim and Combe, without imparting to it a single redeeming quality.

ART. VII.—1. *Annual Reports of the Board of Education for 1860, 1861, and 1862.*

2. *Manual of the Board of Education of the City of New York for 1862.*

WE have been engaged for some time in collecting facts and statistics for a series of articles on the public schools of New York, taking care to test the accuracy of both as best we could by occasional visits to different schools, for we feel that the subject is one of paramount importance to our citizens. We have not yet proceeded so far, however, as to be able to speak definitely of the results attained. For the present, therefore, we will confine ourselves to the system of teaching as developed by the Reports of the City Superintendent. Did we judge exclusively by the latter, we should readily come to the conclusion that there is but little room for improvement. We do not mean that Mr. Randall bestows any undue praise on the working of the system; we see no evidence of his having any disposition to do so; but, on the contrary, we are glad to find that he has the honesty and manliness to criticise where criticism seems to be called for. We confess, that had his reports been of a different character, we should not have passed them over in silence so long as we have.

Our first impression from examining one or two was, that if the teachers and other officers would carry out the suggestions of Mr. Randall, the results would be eminently satisfactory, even to those who are most sanguine as to the efficiency of our public schools; and the more carefully we have examined, the more thoroughly we have become convinced of this fact. We now proceed to give our readers an opportunity of judging for themselves whether we are right or wrong in our estimate of the educational labors of Mr. Randall; at the same time, we

shall not fail to dissent from any views which, in our judgment, do not seem justified by the history of education, so far as we understand it. We first take up the Report for 1860, turn to that part which urges the necessity of a Normal and High School for girls, and extract the following passage:

"This subject has been under the consideration of the Board for several years past, and various propositions have been, from time to time, submitted and discussed without definite action. The absolute and pressing necessity for such an institution as shall adequately prepare such young ladies as design to become teachers in our public schools, for the efficient discharge of their responsible duties, is universally conceded; while, at the same time, the expediency and propriety of establishing an institution for the higher culture and more advanced education of such of the female pupils of our Grammar Schools as have completed the course of study prescribed by the Board, is with almost equal unanimity admitted. The only debatable question seems to be, in what manner these two objects can best and most economically be attained; whether by the organization of two independent institutions—by a combination of both in one institution—or by engrafting upon all, or a portion of the female departments of the Grammar Schools, a higher and more advanced course of study, which shall secure all the benefits and advantages of a separate institution. Each of these plans has its advocates and defenders, and each is worthy of careful consideration.

"A normal school for the special education and preparation of teachers seems absolutely indispensable to the complete success and efficient advancement of our system. All experience here and elsewhere has abundantly shown that the highest intellectual, and even the highest moral qualifications, afford no sufficient guarantee of practical success as a teacher. There must be special preparation, technical skill, a peculiar tact and talent—natural or acquired, to succeed in this most important profession. This can only be attained, where it does not already exist, or be fully developed and cultivated where it does, in an institution specifically devoted to that purpose. It is, therefore, a matter of paramount necessity that such an institution should exist; and no agency of the Grammar Schools can supersede this necessity, or accomplish the work which legitimately pertains to such an organization."—Pp. 7, 8.

We have marked in italics those remarks in the truth of which we particularly concur. Nor will any intelligent person entertain an opposite opinion, if aware that nearly ninety per cent. of the teachers in our public schools are females. Why, then, should not the latter have a Free Academy or High School? There is every reason to believe that they would make better use of it than the males do of that established for their peculiar use. Let our tax-payers bear in mind that Mr. Randall has every disposition to commend whatever is commendable in our present Free Academy, and then read the following observations:

"We shall assume it to be all that it *claims*, and all that is desirable for the entrance of its graduates upon the busy scenes of actual life. The facts, however, stare us in the face, from the experience and the sta-

istics of this institution, as well as from the records of the Grammar Schools, that not one in fifty or sixty of the pupils of the latter ever enters its walls, and not one in five hundred passes through its graduating class. The annual catalogues of the institution, from the year 1855 to 1860, inclusive, show that, out of about 23,000 male pupils in the Grammar School, 396 only were admitted, in the former year, into the introductory class, of which number, 46 only were graduated at the expiration of five years; and this result may be taken as a fair average of the proportions which have uniformly prevailed between the admissions and the graduations. Of the 396 pupils thus enrolled in the introductory class of 1855, eighty-eight, or more than one-fifth, left the institution during the first academic term, ending in February, 1856, and eighty-nine during the second; thus showing that nearly one-half of the whole number admitted left the institution within one year after their admission, and of the residue, 176 only passed into the freshman class of 1857; 104 into the sophomore class of 1858; 65 into the junior class of 1859; and 46 only finally completed the full course, and graduated in the senior class of 1860.

"It is manifest, therefore, that, in point of fact, whatever may be said of theory, a very small proportion of the twenty-five thousand male pupils of our Grammar Schools are, either directly or indirectly, benefited by the higher course of instruction pursued in the Free Academy."

Although quite enough is shown here, Mr. Randall has made some important omissions. It would lead us too far, on the present occasion, to give our impressions in full of the Free Academy; for we have frequently visited the institution, and taken pains to make ourselves acquainted with its working. The knowledge thus obtained we shall duly use in a future article, with such additional facts as we may be able to glean in the mean time. But we may remark now, in passing, that Mr. Randall might have given abundant reasons for the unfavorable results to which he has thus alluded. He might, for example, have proceeded to tell us that the students themselves who leave the Academy so suddenly, have intelligence enough, young as they are, to see in a very short time that, if the institution is not exactly a humbug, it has proved thus far, at least, to be much more for the benefit of its "faculty," than for that of the public who maintain it so munificently. Perhaps he thought this would be sufficiently evident from the information which we have in Schedule No. 7, of the Annual Report of the Board for 1862, in connection with the facts he has furnished us; and we must admit that for any intelligent, thinking person, it would be so. We copy the document in question here, asking our readers to examine it carefully:

SCHEDULE NO. 7.—*Names of Instructors employed at the Free Academy, and Compensation paid to each.*

NAMES.	Annual Compensation.
Horace Webster, LL.D., Principal, Professor of Moral, Intellectual and Political Philosophy, and President of the Faculty	\$3,000 00

John Jason Owen, D.D., LL.D., Vice-Principal, Professor of the Latin and Greek Languages and Literature, and Vice-President of the Faculty.....	2,500 00
Wolcott Gibbs, M.D., Professor of Chemistry and Physics.....	2,000 00
Gerardus Beekman Docharty, LL.D., Professor of Pure Mathematics, and Secretary of the Faculty.....	2,000 00
John Augustus Nichols, A.M., Professor of Mixed Mathematics.....	2,000 00
Charles Edward Anthon, A.M., Professor of History and Belles-Lettres.....	2,000 00
John Graeff Barton, A.M., Professor of the English Language and Literature.....	2,000 00
Jean Roemer, LL.D., Professor of the French Language and Literature.....	2,000 00
Agustin José Morales, LL.D., Professor of the Spanish Language and Literature.....	2,000 00
Adolph Werner, M.S., Professor of the German Language and Literature.....	2,000 00
Herman Joseph Aloys Körner, Ph. D., Professor of Drawing.....	2,000 00
Robert Ogden Doremus, M.D., Professor of Natural History and Physiology (absent by leave).....	1,000 00
Joel Tyler Benedict, A.M., Adjunct Professor of Pure Mathematics.....	2,000 00
George Washington Huntsman, A.M., Adjunct Professor of Philosophy.....	2,000 00
Joseph Howard Palmer, A.M., Tutor in Pure Mathematics.....	1,500 00
William Beinhauer Silber, A.M., Tutor in Ancient Languages.....	1,500 00
Benjamin Arad Sheldon, A.M., Tutor in Pure Mathematics.....	1,500 00
Alfred George Compton, A.M., Tutor in History and Belles-Lettres.....	1,000 00
Casimir Fabregon, A.M. Tutor in French.....	1,000 00
Samuel Gould Jelliffe, A.M., Tutor in History and Belles-Lettres.....	750 00
James Godwin, A.M., Tutor in Pure Mathematics.....	750 00
Lucien Oudin, A.M., Tutor in French.....	1,000 00
Solomon Woolf, A.M., Tutor in Drawing.....	750 00
James Knox, A.M., Tutor in Drawing.....	950 00
Fitzgerald Tisdall, A.M., Tutor in Ancient Languages.....	750 00
W. K. Hallock, temporary Tutor.....	600 00

It will be seen that the salaries are abundantly liberal, and that there are a goodly number of them. We do not complain of either fact, *per se*. By all means let the professors be well paid. All we should ask is, first, that they be qualified for their duties; and secondly, that they perform those duties conscientiously and honestly. We have certainly no disposition to find fault in this matter; it is one of those instances in which we should much rather commend than censure; but we must say, that nothing of the kind ever surprised us more than a sort of lecture we heard delivered to the students by the "President of the Faculty, and Professor of Moral, Intellectual and Political Philosophy," &c., &c. Having never seen the

gentleman before the occasion alluded to, the janitor had considerable difficulty in convincing us that we had really heard "the head man," and not some subordinate assistant, whose duty it was to get up something, however crude, in the form of a lecture, once a month or so. Nor were we entirely satisfied as to the identity of "the professor of all the philosophies," until shown a piece of his composition. After that, however, we could not doubt. Suffice it to add, that we left the institution fully impressed with the idea that if what we had just seen and heard could be regarded as a fair specimen of the "working" of the Free Academy, the institution was a failure. But whether the qualifications, or want of qualifications, of the faculty have had anything to do with the unfavorable results referred to by the City Superintendent in the above extract, we leave our readers to judge. In our humble opinion, the professor, who gets \$3,000 a year—\$500 more than any other member of the Faculty—and who is supposed to give instructions "in all the philosophies," ought to be able to set a good example to his subordinate brethren. We might make other remarks, even in this hurried glance, on the working, or rather the non-working, of the Free Academy; but the Board of Education has done so well lately, and has adopted so many of the suggestions of its vigilant and efficient superintendent, that we anticipate early improvements with some confidence.

Mr. Randall pays a suitable tribute, in his Report for 1861, to the recuperative energy of our people, and to their disposition to maintain our public schools under the most adverse circumstances. The following remarks are interesting as well as truthful:

"Notwithstanding the immensely increased expenditure necessary to the fitting out, supporting and maintaining of upwards of forty regiments of armed troops, and the care and support of their families at home, a million and a half of dollars have been expended in the support of our Public Schools, and nearly an equal amount has been raised for their maintenance during the ensuing year. Eight hundred and twenty thousand dollars have been paid to the teachers, male and female, who have conducted the operations of these schools; seventy-six thousand dollars for school apparatus, and two hundred and fifty-nine thousand for building, remodelling, and furnishing school-houses, and upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the support of the numerous Evening Schools, the Free Academy, the incidental expenses of the Board of Education, and the salaries of its officers. One hundred and sixty thousand children, between the ages of four and twenty-one, have been under instruction for a greater or less period during the year, in the several Public and Day Schools, exceeding, by nearly twelve thousand, the number taught during the preceding year; while, in the forty Evening Schools, taught during a period of five months, from fifteen to twenty thousand pupils were under instruction. The average daily attendance of pupils in the several

Day Schools, during the year, was upwards of sixty-two thousand, exceeding, by nearly five thousand, the average of the preceding year; and in the Evening Schools this average amounted to about ten thousand. Seventeen hundred teachers, about fifteen hundred of whom were females, have been in daily attendance upon these schools, and a large proportion of them have been engaged in the tuition of the Evening Schools."

The alacrity thus shown on the part of our people to sustain the great cause of popular education is appropriately contrasted by Mr. Randall with the course pursued by the enemies of the Union under similar circumstances, and this is followed by a vindication of intellectual development, as the only efficient means of civilization.

"What a striking contrast to the condition of affairs in this respect is presented by the infatuated people who have lifted up their parricidal hands against the sacred ark of the Union! Not content with sweeping away every vestige of public education existing within their boundaries, and confiscating the funds heretofore devoted to its support, they have ignominiously and barbarously expelled from their Confederacy every Northern teacher suspected of the slightest degree of patriotism, and of attachment to the Union, and have publicly denounced the entire system of free public instruction as utterly and radically at variance with the institutions and the government which they seek to establish, as an interference with the rights of the owners of wealth, and as a sinister and unjustifiable means of undermining the foundations upon which alone, in their judgment, society can be based. However applicable these conclusions and results may be to the frame-work of Southern institutions, as modified and developed by recent events, experience has not so instructed the loyal States of the North; and they will be slow to exchange their tried and cherished system of Free Schools and universal education, even under the heaviest burdens of a desolating civil war, for the narrow and aristocratic policy which would confine the blessings of education to the sons and daughters of luxury and wealth.

"All history and all experience bear the most incontrovertible and uniform testimony that the progress of civilization at all times, and under all circumstances, is exclusively dependent upon the progress of knowledge and the advancement of science, modified, regulated, and guided by the spirit of Christianity, and sound principles of morality and virtue. An ignorant people will invariably, and of necessity, be found to be a vicious people—immersed in sensuality, steeped in the lowest and most degrading superstition and bigotry, an easy prey to the invader, and wholly incapable, while in that condition, of rising above the lowest level of humanity. As with a people so with individuals; eminence, honor, usefulness, advancement, can be attained only through mental cultivation; and in the precise proportion that the means of this cultivation are diffused through the masses of a community, without distinction of rank or station, will be the physical, intellectual, moral, social, and artistic progress of that community. As ignorance, with all its attendant and inseparable train of vice, crime and degradation, is dispersed before the advancing sunlight of knowledge, the march of science, in all its diversified departments, is steadily onward; a higher and higher standard of civilization

is attained; the arts, with all their graces and beauty, adorn our homes; wealth is more and more equally diffused; the rights of all are respected and protected; and abundant avenues are everywhere opened for individual and social enterprise and prosperity."

We take one extract more from the Report for 1861, because we think that the suggestions which it contains claim the attention of every teacher and student having any ambition to be regarded as intelligent, and because we have reason to believe that they are much needed, or at least *were*, very recently, in some of our public schools:

"An important change has been made in the method hitherto pursued in conducting the annual examination, which, it is believed, cannot fail of being attended with the most beneficial results in the mode of instruction, and the acquisition of the pupils. Instead of proposing, as has heretofore been the case, a series of questions to the pupils under examination, eliciting, not unfrequently, a brief and unsatisfactory answer, in the very language, perhaps, of the text-book used, and failing, to a great extent, to bring out the real acquirements of the members of the class in reference to the subject matter under consideration, specific portions of the study under review have been required to be given by the pupil, without the aid of leading questions, as far as practicable, in their own language, and accompanied by such explanations, illustrations, and examples on their part, as may serve thoroughly to test their knowledge of the subject, and their capability of clearly and intelligently expressing that knowledge. In reading, the chief object of the examination is intended to ascertain, not only the elocutionary powers of the pupils, and their ability to read well, but to test their entire understanding and comprehension of the meaning, object, and purpose of the passage read. In grammar, *the mere mechanical exercise of parsing is postponed to a full and complete analysis of the sentence given, a transposition of its constituent parts, where it is in any degree complicated, its general structure, and the rules and principles of its grammatical construction.* In geography, the pupil is required to take up any given section of country, and, without the aid of questions or suggestions, to describe its boundaries, rivers, bays, capes, mountains, lakes, chief towns, capital, climate, soil, productions, imports and exports, government, natural curiosities, artificial communications, and, in short, everything connected with a complete and thorough knowledge of all its most important features, and, if possible, to sketch an outline of its principal geographical peculiarities on the black-board. In history, a specific period is selected, and its leading events required to be given by the pupil in his own language, avoiding, as far as possible, a mere slavish adhesion to the particular language of the text-book used."

We may remark, parenthetically, that some of the teachers have had much trouble in carrying out these suggestions; for it is somewhat difficult even for the most ingenious to teach others what they never knew themselves. There are many that can name the parts of speech very well, as they occur, who, if asked to analyze a sentence, would feel considerably puzzled. Of course the reason is, that they have learned gram-

mar only in the Polly Hopkins style; they have learned nothing of its philosophy; and they do not possess the talent to remedy the defects of their early education. It is easy to understand that persons thus circumstanced have no desire to see witnesses of their blunders.

In one of our occasional visits to different schools, we were considerably amused at an instance of this kind. We doubt whether the divine Plato in his Academy was half so pompous, or assumed such lofty airs, as the principal of the school to which we refer. He is perfectly safe, however, from our criticism; for there is a grade of intelligence below which we think it useless to criticise, except in general terms, and without mentioning any names. Let it suffice, therefore, to observe that the individual alluded to evinced as much reluctance to have visitors present at his recitations as one engaged in counterfeiting the current coins of the nation might be supposed to evince, if any curious person desired to witness his operations. But all this only made us the more desirous of "assisting" at the recitations. We confess we pretended not to understand the excuses made, but patiently waited for the pupils. The latter, too, seemed to be aware of the freemasonry by which they were surrounded. The exercises, after recess, were finally resumed, however, and pretty soon we saw the secret of the teacher's reluctance. Alas, poor fellow! thought we, who could blame you, after all? You are trying to teach your pupils what you don't understand yourself; you are by no means sure that you are right, and do not like to be laughed at.

On a little inquiry, we found that Mr. Randall had just introduced the analytical system, which explained the whole affair. But such "analytical parsing" as we witnessed on this memorable occasion we never had before, and trust we never shall witness again in any civilized community. It is but justice to say, however, that this was the only instance of the kind we met with, and that we had only to go to the next street, (Fourteenth,) in a diagonal line—from the west to the east of the city—to witness as good analytical parsing as we had ever witnessed in any school of an equal grade. To this it is but fair to add that both Mr. Randall and his first assistant, Mr. Kiddle, offered to afford us every possible facility, not only to visit any of the schools, but also to examine any classes in whose studies we took an interest; at the same time fully exculpating the Board of Education, as well as themselves, from all intention of surrounding any of the schools under their jurisdiction with secrecy. We have alluded to the matter at all only as a somewhat amusing illustration of the

difficulty of introducing a new system of teaching through the medium of a certain class of minds.

In opening the Superintendent's Report for 1862, the first suggestions we meet with have reference to further improvements; but improvements of a different kind from those which we have been just alluding to. We think that few intelligent persons will read the following passage without fully concurring with Mr. Randall:

"That the system, in many of its details, may admit of improvement, is unquestionable. In so extensive and complicated an organization it can scarcely be expected that experience will not, from time to time, as its workings advance, demonstrate many imperfections. Some of these may be remedied by the officers in charge; others by parents and guardians; and still others, and perhaps more important ones, by those who are periodically called upon to select the agents into whose hands these institutions are, for the time being, committed. It may, perhaps, be true that *a less number of officers would secure a more vigilant and effective administration of the system; that the entire separation of the members of the general from the local boards would confer a greater independency of action on the former, and divert it of the disadvantages growing out of the powerful influence exerted by the occasional pressure of local interests; and that the consolidation of all the schools into one great system, under the charge of officers selected not so much with reference to their location as to their peculiar qualifications for the discharge of the high duties imposed upon them, would combine advantages not now possessed by the existing ward organizations.* These, however, are all subjects for mature and deliberate consideration, and careful advisement."

The remarks which we have italicised claim particular attention. When it is borne in mind that the City Superintendent is elected, not by our citizens generally, but by the members of the Board of Education, he will readily get the credit of being bold and manly, as well as thoughtful and progressive. It is but fair to admit at the same time, that it is creditable to the Board to sustain its chief officer in that honest outspokenness which everywhere pervades these reports; for that this is done, is sufficiently proved by the fact that Mr. Randall has held his present position uninterruptedly for more, we believe, than twelve years, although he has had to be elected once every two years. We fear it would have been different had his election been committed to "the people." We regard the *vox populi* as a very good thing in certain cases; but that of selecting a person qualified to direct and superintend the labors of one thousand eight hundred and ninety-six (1896) teachers, is not one of these. The figures remind us of the statistics for the past year, which we regard of sufficient importance and interest to copy here, although the amount of space we had prescribed for this article draws rapidly to a close:

"The aggregate number of pupils taught in the several Grammar Schools, Primary Departments and Schools, Colored and Corporate Schools, during the year ending on the 30th September last, was 173,198

Of this number there were in the
 Male Grammar Schools 28,758
 Female " " 22,742
 Primary Departments 74,054
 Primary Schools 35,202
 Colored Schools 2,391
 Corporate Schools 10,051

Total 173,198

Showing an increase of 12,254 over the preceding year.

Of whom,

The number taught for 10 months and over was 40,526
 " " 8 months and less than 10 . . . 19,568
 " " 6 " " " " 8 . . . 21,308
 " " 4 " " " " 6 . . . 24,653
 " " 2 " " " " 4 . . . 31,826
 " " less than 2 months 35,317

173,198

The number of pupils in the several Evening Schools during the year, was 18,639
 847

Total 192,684

The average attendance in the several Grammar Schools, Primary Departments and Schools, Colored and Corporate Schools, for the past year, ascertained according to the legal standard for making the apportionment, was as follows:

Grammar Schools, Male Department 12,345
 " Female " " 10,335
 " Primary " " 28,700
 Primary Schools 13,784
 Colored " " 993
 Corporate " " 4,135

Total 70,292

Being an increase of 8,170 over the average attendance during the preceding year.

The average attendance in the several Evening Schools during the term ending March 1, 1862, was 8,433; such average having been materially affected by the great diminution in attendance of the pupils after the holidays, which will be hereafter, under its appropriate head, adverted to.

The number of duly qualified teachers employed during the past year in the several schools under the charge of the Board (exclusive of the Free Academy and Evening Schools) was 1,896—of whom 191 held state certificates, 21 were graduates of the State Normal School, and the remainder were licensed by the City Superintendent. Of this number, 196 are male, and 1,700 female teachers."

In the same report we have an interesting historical sketch of our system of public schools, from which we learn that, "at

the commencement of the present century, and prior to the year 1805, no specific public provision for the education of youth existed in the city, or scarcely in the State of New York." It will be seen from the following extract, that the Superintendent's own duties are sufficiently varied and onerous:

"The *City Superintendent* is specially required to visit every school under the charge of the Board, as often as once in each year; to inquire into all matters relating to the government, course of instruction, books, studies, discipline, and conduct of such schools, the condition of the school-houses, and of the schools generally; to advise and counsel with the Trustees in relation to their duties, the proper studies, discipline, and conduct of the schools, the course of instruction and text-books; to ascertain and report whether any sectarian teaching or books have been used in any of the schools; to make a monthly report to the Board of his proceedings generally in the visitation of the schools, with such recommendations and suggestions as he may deem necessary and advisable, transmitting copies to the local officers of such portions of his reports as relate to the schools under their management; under such general rules and regulations as the Board may establish, to examine and license teachers, and revoke such licenses on due notice to the teacher and Trustees, subject to the right of appeal of any party aggrieved to the State Superintendent; and generally, by all the means in his power, to promote sound education, elevate the character and qualifications of teachers, improve the means of instruction, and advance the interests of the schools under his supervision. He is also made subject to such general rules and regulations as the State Superintendent may prescribe, and required to make an annual report to that officer of the condition and statistics of the schools under his charge."

It may be doubted whether the whole faculty of the Free Academy could accomplish so much. Many of our readers know that there are at least a few of that body who, if they attempted to write and publish such elaborate reports without the revision of some friendly hand, would only expose themselves to public ridicule;* yet one alone of those alluded to draws at least as much from the public treasury for his services as Mr. Randall.

In short, the subject of public school education is fully discussed, in all its bearings, in these Reports. If improvements

* It is a curious fact—and one which in our opinion ought to be publicly known—that it is precisely the "professors" of this character who are most careless as to the duties for the supposed performance of which they receive such large salaries, and who are most anxious to dispose of their leisure hours to others for a consideration. The time they should occupy in preparing themselves for the duties for which they are so munificently paid, is devoted to the manufacture of "lectures" which they deliver at some of those third or fourth rate "Institutes" for young ladies, which are so numerous in New York and Brooklyn. None affect so much disgust towards the public schools, as the principals of the class of institutes referred to; but they think they make a fine display in announcing that Professor Somebody is to deliver a course of lectures at the Institute on the languages, dead and living, on the occult sciences of the ancients, or some other subject equally profound and startling; while Professor Somebody flatters himself in turn that he is rapidly attaining the position of a modern Quintilian, or of an American Guizot.

recommended are not made during the current year, they are recurred to the year after, and urged in a spirit of zeal and earnestness proportioned to their importance. This is true, for example, of the proposed Normal School for girls, in favor of which new and convincing arguments are adduced in every succeeding report. In that for 1862 four pages are devoted to it, but from which we can only extract the very truthful remark, that "It is of the utmost importance that the seventeen hundred teachers daily engaged in the work of instruction in our city should be thus completely and systematically trained for the performance of their duty."

But we must close for the present. We refer those wishing to be further informed on this important subject to the Annual Reports, at which we have been able to give a mere cursory glance. A large amount of additional multifarious information may be found in the "Manual of the Board of Education of the City and County of New York," compiled by Mr. Thomas Boesé, the intelligent and efficient Clerk of the Board. The names, grades, and salaries of all our teachers are given in the "Manual;" also the names and positions of all the school officers, an abstract of the "laws relative to public instruction in the City of New York," &c., &c. If, in our future efforts to form a definite opinion of the actual working of the system, by visiting the schools and hearing recitations, we see any serious defects or malpractices, our readers may rely upon it that we will not shrink from exposing them.

ART. VIII.—1. *The Gael and the Cymbri*. By SIR WM. BENTHAM. London.

2. *Conquest of England by the Normans*. By M. THIERRY.

3. *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*.

4. *The Heimsklinga, or Chronicle of the Kings of Norway*, translated from the Icelandic of SNORRE STURLESON, with a Preliminary Dissertation by SAMUEL LAING, Esq. 3 vols. London.

THERE are no people who have made their mark in the world, whose origin and early history have been shrouded in greater mystery, than the Scandinavians; that is, the ancient inhabitants of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Iceland. "History," says Mallet, "has not recorded the annals of a race who have caused greater, more sudden, or more numerous revolutions in Europe, and whose antiquities are at the same time so little

known.* And, scanty as that knowledge is, it would have been still less, but for a great event which drew upon them the attention of a people who possessed the advantages of a literature and historians. This was the famous expedition of the Cimbri into Italy, about one hundred and eleven years before the Christian era. According to the Roman annals,† more than three hundred thousand warriors, known by the name of Cimbri, Teutones and Tigurini, set forth in two armies from the Cimbric Chersonese or Jutland, the Danish peninsula‡ and the adjacent islands, in quest of a more favorable climate, plunder, and glory. Florus says, that "flying from their own country at the extremity of Germany in consequence of an inundation of the ocean, they sought new possessions over the whole world." They attacked whatever people they found in their way. They penetrated into Gaul, which they overran, till they were repulsed and driven out by the Belgæ.§ They also entered Spain, but failed to gain a foothold there.¶ On their return they sent ambassadors to the Romans, asking that a territory be assigned to them in which to settle, and in return for which the Roman republic might have their services in arms. Their proposition being rejected, they resolved to obtain by force what was refused to their entreaty, and they invaded Italy. They defeated and destroyed in succession four Roman armies sent against them. Rome was in danger. At length the generalship of the conqueror of Jugurtha prevailed. Marius advanced against the invaders. He first overthrew the Teutones in a great pitched battle, in which, according to Plutarch, one hundred thousand perished. He then sought the Cimbri, who had halted near the Po, in the hope that the Teutones would join them. Ignorant of the fate of their allies, they sent to Marius demanding an allotment of land, sufficient to maintain themselves and their brethren. Marius answered that "their brethren already possessed more than they desired, and that they would not easily quit what he had assigned to them." The Cimbri, irritated by this raillery, resolved to take vengeance, and challenged Marius to battle, desiring him to name the time and place. The veteran general replied that though Romans were not accustomed to consult their enemies in such matters, he would, notwithstanding, for once oblige them, and appointed the next day but one to meet them on the plains of Vercelli. At the time appointed

* Northern Antiquities.

† See Plutarch in Mario. Livy epit., l. 68. Florus, l. 3, chap. 3.

‡ It is from Jutland that the Jutes settled in England.

§ Caesar's Commentaries, Gallie. See Book II., chap. 4.

¶ Florus, Lib. III., cap. 3.

the two armies marched thither. The heat was excessive, which was against the northerners, and in favor of the Italians, who also gained the advantage of having the sun in their backs. The Cimbri were defeated with great slaughter, and those that fled met with new dangers in their camp, for the women received them as enemies, and massacred without distinction their fathers, brothers, sons and husbands; they even carried their fury to such an extent as to dash out the brains of their children, and completed the catastrophe by throwing themselves under their chariot-wheels. After their example, their husbands, in despair, turned their arms against one another. On that day one hundred and forty thousand are said to have fallen; and when to this is added the capture of 60,000 prisoners,* it may be said that the invaders were almost literally annihilated at a blow. A few escaped to the mountains, where they founded a colony, and continue a distinct people to this day. Frederick IV., of Denmark, visited them in 1708, and conversed with them in Danish, which they spoke and perfectly understood.† Such was the terror the Cimbri had inspired that Marius was honored with a triumph, and decreed by the Senate to be "the third founder of Rome." "No other nation," says Tacitus, "has given us such cause to dread their arms; not the Samnites, nor Carthaginians, nor Spaniards and Gauls, nor even the Parthians."‡ Nor were those fears without cause, if the Cimbri are to be regarded as of the same race with the Goths, who several centuries afterwards established their dominion in Italy, as did the Vandals in Africa.

Pliny the elder, who died A. D. 79, is the first writer who distinctly mentions Scandinavia by that name; and Procopius, the secretary of the Roman General Belisarius, who flourished in the sixth century, is the first who called its Cimbrian population Danes. But the ancient Greeks and Romans, three centuries before the Christian era, had a vague idea of the northern peninsula of Europe. They knew that an island, or cluster of islands, existed in the Northern Ocean, for Pytheas, a celebrated navigator of Marseilles, who lived before Alexander the Great, had penetrated to these isolated and distant regions, and the ancient geographers have left us some notices of his discoveries. He visited the island of Albion, and describes, six days' sail to the northeast, an island or country which he named Thule, and the Roman classic writers after-

* See Plutarch in Mario and Liv., 67-68.

† Eustace's Classical Tour of Italy, vol. i., p. 142.

‡ Tac. Germ., 36.

wards called *Ultima Thule*, because they regarded it as the most distant northern point ever reached by man. Thule is generally believed to be Jutland, which is a peninsula of Denmark; but others have traced the name of the ancient Thule in Tellemark, a province of South Norway, whence Pytheas may have entered the Baltic, where the Phœnicians had been before attracted in pursuit of amber. He represents the northern part of Thule as wild and uncultivated, and peopled by savages, who lived by hunting and fishing. The inhabitants of the south were farther advanced in the arts of life, cultivated grain, reared bees, and brewed hydromel, which was their favorite drink. But they were all distinguished by the same ferocious and warlike character.* Among the Scandinavian tribes the ancient geographers and historians enumerated the Suiones, (the Swedes,) the Getae, (Goths,) and the Dankiches, who are probably the Danes, called, in the ancient language of the North, Danir, or Danskir.† Pliny mentions a gulf beyond the Cimbrian Chersonese as filled with an archipelago of islands; and Pomponius Mela describes a similar gulf, and says the peninsula which it washed was inhabited by the Teutones.‡ There can be no doubt that this gulf is the Baltic Sea. Tacitus speaks of the northern columns of Hercules, referring to the narrow passage of the Sound into the Baltic, so much resembling his southern pillars, the Straits of Gibraltar. The fleet of Drusus had failed to pass, or even to approach this passage, which was as impenetrable to him as it was to Hercules; and the knowledge which the Romans acquired of the maritime nations on the shores of the Baltic was obtained by their land journeys in search of amber.‡

Procopius speaks of the different Scandinavian tribes as one people in respect to their origin, language, manners and institutions. "They are all," he says, "of a fair complexion, have red or yellow hair, and a tall, manly stature; are governed by the same laws and customs, were all formerly of the same heathen religion, and are now universally Arian Christians. Their language is that called the Gothic, and they regard themselves as one nation, descended from the same common stock." In this opinion we think Procopius was mistaken. Tacitus, whose accuracy is more to be relied on, tells us that some of these tribes were Celtic. He says, "On the coast to

* Ptolem. Geogr., lib. ii., cap. 2. See also Dr. Bredsdorff's Dissertation upon the Ancient Geography of the North, in the Transactions of the Scandinavisk Litteraturselskab for 1824.

† Tacitus Germ., cap. xiv. Plin., lib. iv., cap. 13.

‡ See Columela de situ orbis, lib. iii., cap. 3. Pliny, Nat. Hist., lib. iv., chap. 27. Tac. German., cap. xxiv.

the right of the Suevian Sea, (the Baltic,) the Aestii have fixed their habitation. In their dress and manners they resemble the Suevians, but their language has more affinity to that of Britain.* They worship the mother of the Gods. In the cultivation of corn and other fruits of the earth they labor with more patience than is consistent with the natural laziness of the Germans. Their industry is excited in another instance; they explore the sea for amber, in their language called *glese*, and are the only people who gather that curious substance, astonished at the price paid by the luxury of Rome for what seems to them of no value.† Now it is well ascertained that the British language at that time was Celtic, and the word *glese*, amber, so called from its green color, is pure Erse, being derived from *glas*, the sea. The Tigurini, whom Florus mentions as part of the Cimbric expedition, are also known to be Celts, being a colony from Celtic Helvetia.‡ Tacitus also mentions a tribe called the Gothinians, who dwelt in the north of Germany, spoke the Gallic language, and worked in mines.§

Certainly the Fenni, or Finns, and the Lapps, who were probably the earliest settlers in Scandinavia, are not of Gothic origin. Tacitus describes the Finns as a savage race, living in squalid poverty, having neither arms nor horses; feeding upon the grass of the fields, lying upon the bare ground, clothed with the skins of wild beasts; their sole trust was in their arrows, which, for want of iron, they pointed with bones. Both men and women hunted together. Their infants had no shelter from the elements or the wild beasts save the interwoven boughs of the trees. Still, they esteemed their lot happier than that of those who, cultivating fields and building habitations, were alternately the slaves of hope and fear.¶ But this was not always their condition.

It cannot be denied that the Finns and Laplanders anciently possessed a much more considerable part of Scandinavia than they do at present. This was the opinion of Grotius and Leibnitz, who affirm that these tribes were formerly spread over the southern parts of Norway and Sweden, whence in process of time they have been driven out by new colonies of Germans and Scythians, and banished among the northern rocks. But whether the Finns were formerly the entire possessors of Scandinavia, or were only somewhat more numerous than they are at present, it is very certain that this nation has been established

* *Lingua Britannice propriior.*

† Tacitus de Morib. Germ., xiv.

‡ See Caesar's Commentaries, Gallic War, book i., chap. 12.

§ Tacitus, Germ., 43.

¶ Tacitus, Germ., 46.

there from the earliest ages, and has always differed from the other inhabitants by features so strong and remarkable that we must acknowledge its origin to be entirely different.

The language of the Finns does not resemble any dialect of the ancient Teutonic or Celtic tongues, and there are now no traces of the people or language in Europe or Western Asia, whence all the other European populations have come. They evidently do not belong to the Indo-European races. The Finns, according to Prichard,* are of Mongolic stock, and belong to the Ugrian race, or Ogres, a nomadic people expelled from the high plains of China by the Hiong-nu; the main proof of its origination in that quarter turning on the analogy of its languages with those of the great central nations. The race termed Ogres or Ugrian nations had left the eastern plateau, and had occupied countries towards the northwest before the earliest accounts of history.

In times long preceding the German and Slavonic nations in the north of Europe, the Ugrians had possessed all the regions extending from the Baltic to the Uralian Mountains, and reaching even to the Obi and Irtysh in Siberia. Farthest towards the west were the Finns and Lapps, forming one branch of the race. The people whom the Russians call Tschudes are of the same stock. Farther eastward the name of Ugrians predominated. The Ogres were the prototypes of savage monsters, dwellers in forests and mountains, whose name is better known in popular fable than in its historical import. It is, however, the most ancient denomination of this race.

The tribes of Teutons and Cimbri, on arriving in Scandinavia, designated the Ogres as monsters. The epithet of Jotuns, which is of frequent occurrence in the sagas, had this meaning. Jotuns among the old poets of the north, like Titans among the Greeks, were the enemies of gods and men; creatures of the imagination, symbolical of physical and moral evils. Races of men who were the hereditary and perpetual foes of the Teutonic tribes, were also called Jotuns, and this term assumes its historical sense when it is used to designate the barbarous aborigines of Northern Europe, whose conquest or extirpation by a race of happier destinies is celebrated in the early poems of the Scalds.

Traces of these older inhabitants of Scandinavia are found in the stories of their warfare, handed down from the early historical age. Adam, of Bremen, who during the eleventh century, in the character of missionary as well as in military ser-

* *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, vol. iii., p. 391, *et seq.* *Natural History of Man*, vol. i., p. 294.

vice, lived twelve years with the Danish king, Swen Ulfson, says of them: "Narravit mihi rex Danorum sæpe recolendus, gentem quandam ex montanis in plana descendere solitam et incertum esse unde veniat." "Subito accedunt; omnem depopulantur regionem." Enemies of civilization, these barbarous natives of mountains and forests, who were clothed with the skins of wild beasts, and uttered sounds more like the cries of savage animals than the speech of men—"qui ferarum pellibus utuntur pro vestibus, et loquentes ad invicem frendere magis quam verba proferre dicuntur"—dwelt in caves and the clefts of rocks, and issued thence as nightly marauders to perpetrate deeds of blood. He reports that they exceeded wild beasts in the swiftness of their flight. By the Icelanders they were called Jotnen and Thursen—giants and enchanters. That these designations do not belong to the mere creations of the fancy, such as superstition in later times associates with them, appears from the fact that the historical Sagas deduce the genealogy of many families from a Jotnian ancestry.

The early poets describe real wars in the accounts of contests against barbarians of the rocks and mountains. In the song of Thiodulf, to the honor of Thor, that god is termed the destroyer of mountain wolves, the overturner of the altars of the Fornjotish idols, the conqueror of Jotuns and Finns. So Snorre Sturleson, in the "*Heimskringla*," uses Finns and Jotuns as synonymous. The people thus described are plainly the Fenni mentioned by Tacitus, and referred to by Procopius in the sixth century as the Skrithfinni inhabiting Thule. In the time of Adam, of Bremen, they dwelt towards the north, between Sweden and Norway, especially in Helsingland. He also mentions them in the Wernlands. In early periods they were certainly in the south of Sweden, where, in a part of Smaland, are still found the local names of Finweden, the field of Finns, Finnheide and Finnia. In the highlands of Scotland, also, and Northern Ireland, the significant names of Finn, Fion, Finney, Finnegan, Fingal, and Fingall represent a marine tribe of Fianish origin, the name Fingall clearly indicating the mixed blood of the Finn and Gael.* The Finns have been the miners and smiths of Scandinavia from time immemorial. The eastern branches of the race are the Woguls of the Uralian mountains, and the Ostiaks on the Obi; from them are descended the Magyars or Hungarians, a warlike and energetic people,

* Prichard's *Natural History of Man*, and Hamilton Smith's *Natural History of the Human Species*.

in whom have been developed the very highest physical, intellectual, and moral qualities.*

At the time of Tacitus the Finns were as savage as the Lapps; but the former, during the succeeding ages, became so far civilized as to change a nomadic life for one of agricultural pursuits, while the Lapps have ever continued to be barbarous nomades, as well as the Siberian tribes of the same race. The Scandinavian Finns, as well as those of the White Sea, had probably undergone this change long before the time when they were visited by Utther, the guest of Alfred. When the Finns were conquered by the Swedes they had long been a settled people, but one of curious and singular character. The Lapps and Finns call themselves *Suomi*, and, in common with the inhabitants of Esthonia and Livonia, speak the *Suomic* branch of the *Tshudic* language. All the tribes speaking *Tshudic* dialects probably number about 4,000,000. That they all belong to the Arctic variety of the human species, is unquestionable; but whether they are all of the same race, admits of doubt. It would seem as if the Finns and Lapps belonged, at least in part, to distinct races; their physical, moral, and intellectual qualities differing very materially. The Lapp is distinguished for his obstinacy, suspicion, and childishness of feeling; the Finn for his energy and gloomy earnestness. "The man by his word, the ox by his horn," is a Finnic proverb. The Lapps consider it an honor to belong to the Finns; but the Finn regards the Lapp with the same contemptuous disdain as the Magyar looks down on the Slovak, or as the Norman regarded the Saxon: a feeling which would imply that at some remote period the Finns conquered the Lapps, who were probably the aborigines of Finland and Esthonia.†

The present Finns of Sweden and Norway are represented as having dark, coarse hair, sallow countenances, eyes extended lengthwise, and half-closed, sharp chins and elevated cheek-bones. The Laplander inhabits a region where wholesome food is far from being plentiful. His size is therefore gener-

*There is a striking coincidence between the civil institutions of the Magyars and those of the ancient Scandinavians; for instance, each of the fifty-five counties or districts into which Hungary is divided has its *Thing*, (county assembly,) at which public affairs are discussed as in ancient Scandinavia, by the *Thingmen* of the district; a man possessing but a single acre of allodial land having the same vote and the same rights and privileges as the proprietor of the most extensive domains. The original appearance of the Magyars has been very much modified by intermixture with other races. They offer another instance where the Finnic stem produces gigantic men; for the Hungarian grenadiers and the national heydukes are of greater stature than any other nation of Europe.

† Blackwell's Remarks on Bishop Percy's Preface to Mallet's Northern Antiquities.

ally diminutive, and his limbs are deficient in those proportions which are reckoned in other places essential to beauty. But notwithstanding the meanness of his appearance, the Laplander, from his manner of life, is hardy, robust, and strong beyond what his size would indicate. He is not only more hardy than the muscular Norwegian, but so much more strong, that the stoutest of his southern neighbors cannot bend his bow. It has been observed that the differences between the Laplanders and Finns in personal appearance, and the differences in each of these tribes according to their locality, are owing to their intermixture with other races.

In the remote places where there is little chance of intermixture, the Skieet-Finn or Laplander, nearly of pure Hyperborean blood, exhibits the Mongol type. But the Finlander with half Teutonic blood, or Slavonic, is in structure entirely a European. So readily does the Caucasian element predominate, that it becomes often doubtful whether any Mongolic blood can be observed externally.* But not only in physical appearance, but often in language, is the resemblance complete. The flexibility of the organs of speech in the Finnic race, and their aptitude for acquiring and speaking new languages, is such, that where their intercourse with the other races is great, they have lost their own language, and use only the Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, or Icelandic, which are all dialects of the old Norse. The same process is steadily going on in Iceland, where the Erse is only spoken in remote districts. The Finns still retain their own language where their geographical situation cuts them off from frequent communication with the Teutonic and Cimbric races. "Both the Lapland and Finnish languages," says Dr. Clarke,† "are pleasing to the ear, and admirably suited to poetry, owing to their plentitude of vowels. They constantly reminded us of the Italian; and we might cite several instances of words common to all the three. Acerbi, as an Italian, sometimes understood words used by the natives of Finland. Nothing can be softer or more harmonious than the sounds uttered by a Finland peasant, when reciting his Pater Noster. It is full of labials, nasals, open vowels, and diphthongs, and is destitute even of a single guttural." How unlike every dialect of the Celtic and Teutonic languages!

Since Russia appropriated Finland and half of Lapland from Sweden, the greater portion of these races belongs to the empire of "the Semiramis of the North." Tschutski and Finn

* Smith's Natural History of the Human Species, p. 322.

† Travels in Scandinavia.

are convertible terms in Northern Russia. Tschudi is the Russian name of Finland, and the true appellation of the ancient Scythians. An important consideration affects the condition of these arctic nations—namely, the fast decrease of the reindeer, both domestic and wild—threatening, at no distant period, to reduce the already miserable existence of the people to starvation, where no opportunities of migration to the South offer to improve their lot. The cause of this privation of almost the only source of subsistence in those dreary regions is not yet fully explained, although several tribes are already totally destitute of their domestic flocks. It may be that there, as in the arctic countries of North America, some law in nature is operating, in combination with the progress of civilized nations, to change the character of the high north, and leave it a desert, with scarcely a human tribe able to subsist upon it. Indeed, the only people must ultimately be the Esquimaux and Lapland fish-eating Hyperboreans—the sole remaining races of the beardless stock in those regions.

It would seem, then, that the basis of Scandinavian mythic lore and of institutions is Finnic—that the physical Jotun appear to have been the giant masters of the country, till they were vanquished by the Goths and Cimbri, and driven to rocks and caverns; affording a foundation for that dualism which afterwards appears in Scandinavian mythology. King Fornjotter, the progenitor of the Finnic people, was conquered; his altars overthrown by Thor, and his system of worship destroyed by the invaders; but there is nothing to disprove that the whole did not come from the east, the region whence their mythological kindred, the Jotun, are to arrive in the ship Negalfar, at the last day of the world's existence. The national *Runes** frequently reveal the hatred of the vanquished to their conquerors, and the hope that springs eternal in the human breast, that the day will come when the present order of things will be reversed in Scandinavia.

But whence have come the race or races which now control the destiny of that country, and have filled the world with their fame? From the historical records, already cited, they appear to be chiefly Teutones and Cimbri. About the origin of the Teutonic race there can be very little difficulty at the present day. The Teutones, Getae, (Goths,) Vandalii, (Vandals,) Germanii, Allemanni, Saxons and Franks, and Hollanders, appear to be of the same stock, sometimes called

* The *Runes* are the ancient alphabetical characters found on wood and stone in Scandinavia. They number sixteen letters, and are entirely different from the Phœnician alphabet, from which the alphabets of Europe are derived. Odin is said to be the inventor. Thus, like the ancient Peruvians with their *quippos*, or system of knots, they recorded national events, though ignorant of the use of paper.

Germanic, sometimes Teutonic, and sometimes Gothic—all speaking dialects of the same mother language. But of the origin of the Cimbri, who are the principal element in the Scandinavain population, giving it a distinctive character, and separating it from the German nations by broad lines, there is great doubt whether it ought to be assigned to the Celtic or Gothic races, or whether it is a mixture of both, is not very clearly established. It seems only certain that the Cimbri came from Scythia, and hence they are sometimes called Celto-Scythians. But that leaves us in the dark as to the race just as much as ever. There is not a vaguer term in ancient geography than that of Scythia. Taken in its most extensive signification, it would embrace all the countries between the present river Don in the west, the great desert of Gobi in the east, the Hindoo Kosh mountains in the south, and the plains of Siberia in the north. These boundaries might be limited or extended to suit any particular theory, as the region was to the Greeks and Romans *terra incognita*. There is not a race, therefore, in Europe, that has not been called Scythian. This confusion of ideas, which so long prevailed, arose from writers applying the term “Scythians” ethnographically instead of geographically, to designate a distinct race, such as the Teutons, Slavonians, Celts, and not an assemblage of nations of various origin, such as are comprehended in the word “Europeans.” Hence, therefore, when Mallet says of the Cimbri, “we observe a nation issuing step by step from the forests of Scythia,” he says nothing to the purpose. Strabo* informs us that the old Greek writers gave all the northern nations the common name of Scythians or Celto-Scythians; while the Germanic are mentioned by Herodotus as a Persian people.† For a long time the Roman writers confounded Celts, Goths, and Slavonians. Zosimus, an historian of the third century, includes them all under the common name of Scythians. Cluverius, Keyser, and Pelloutier, distinguished writers, have supposed the ancient Gauls and Germans, the Britons and Saxons, to have been all originally one and the same people.‡ Pelloutier, in particular, expended immense erudition to prove this hypothesis; and it seems to have been acquiesced in generally, till Toland, an Irish writer, in his “History of the Druids,” demolished it; and after him, Bishop Percy, an Irish bishop, in his preface to Mallet’s Northern Antiquities. This error seems the more strange, as Cæsar, who was well acquainted with the Germans

* Strabo, Lib. xi.

† Herod. in Clio.

‡ Philippi Cluveri Germaniæ antiquæ, &c. Lugduni Batav., 1616. Antiquitates selectæ septentrionales et Cæticæ, Auctore J. G. Keyser, Hannoveræ, 1720. Histoire des Celtes, par M. Simon Pelloutier. Haye, 1750.

and Gauls, who lived side by side, describes them as "differing in language, customs, and laws;"* whereas, Tacitus informs us that the language of the ancient Britons and Gauls was not very different—*sermo haud multum diversus*. Again, Suetonius tells us that Caligula, returning from his fruitless expedition against the Germans, in order to grace his triumph with an appearance of prisoners of that nation for want of real Germans, chose from among the Gauls such as were of very tall stature, whom he caused to let their hair grow long and to color it red, to learn the German language and adopt German names; and thus he passed them off for prisoners from Germany.†

In fact, the evidence is overwhelming, and the argument of Bishop Percy is perfectly satisfactory, as long as he confines himself to proving that the Germans and Gauls, Britons and Saxons, are different races. But when he attempts to prove that the Cimbri are a Gothic race, his logic is very far from conclusive. At the outset, he admits the difficulty of establishing his position, for he says: "Whether the ancient Cimbri and their confederates, the Teutones, who made the irruption into the Roman empire in the time of Marius, were a Celtic or a Gothic people, may perhaps admit of some disquisition." But as he proceeds he gains confidence, and refers to the language of the country and the names of places in proof of the Gothic origin of the people. As to the argument from language, in the absence of historical evidence, he might as well attempt to show that the ancient inhabitants of Normandy in France were Gauls or Celts, or of the same race with the other population of the country, because these Northmen dropped their own language and adopted that of France; or he might as well argue that the French Normans who conquered England were Saxons, because their descendants abandoned the French and adopted the English. It was a peculiarity of these Northmen to forget their own language and use the language of the country in which they settled. From the account given us by the Roman writers of the Cimbric invasion of Italy, it appears that the Cimbri were accompanied by the Teutones. Now, the probability is, that the Teutones and other Gothic tribes had been in possession of Scandinavia before the Cimbri arrived, and that the latter subjugated the other population of the country, but adopted the Gothic language, just as the French descendants of the Cimbri afterwards did when they conquered the Saxon race in England. As to the argument about few Celtic names not being found in Jutland, and that if the Cimbri were Celts, at least the hills,

* De Bell. Gall., lib. vi.

† Sueton. Calig., cap. 47.

forests, rivers, &c., would have retained their old Celtic names, as in England, it is a begging of the question, for it assumes that the Cimbri were the first inhabitants of the country, whereas Tacitus* says the Germans are the aborigines of Northern Europe. Probably it will be found that many of the names of hills, rivers, and mountains in Scandinavia are neither German nor Celtic, but Finnish in their derivation.

It is, therefore, by no means certain that the Cimbri were a Gothic or Teutonic race. The probability is that they were, like the English, a race of mingled blood, both Celts and Goths.†

The same difference of opinion exists as to the Belgæ, whom most writers regard as Germans, while others consider them a different race. But Cæsar, whose historical verity stands so high in everything relating to Gaul, shows that the Belgæ are neither Celts nor Germans. He says:

"All Gaul is divided into three parts: one of which the Belgæ inhabit; the Aquitani another; those who, in their own language, are called Celts, but in ours Gauls, the third. All these differ from each other in language, customs, and laws. The Belgæ are the bravest, because they are furthest from the civilization and refinement of our province, and merchants least frequently resort to them and import those things which tend to effeminacy, and they are the nearest to the Germans, who dwell beyond the Rhine, with whom they are continually waging war; for which reason also the Helvetii also surpass the rest of the Gauls in valor, as they contend with the Germans in almost daily battles, when they either repel them from their own territories, or themselves wage war on their frontiers."[‡]

Thus it may be seen that Cæsar distinguishes the Belgæ both from the Germans and the Gauls. But in a subsequent part of the same work he says the Belgæ were, for the most part, originally sprung from the Germans, but that, having crossed

* *De Moribus Germanorum.* † Cæsar's Commentaries, *Bell. Gall.*, lib. i., cap. 1.

‡ Mr. Laing treats with deserved severity those who claim a general superiority for the Teutonic over the Celtic race. He regards it as "the echo of the bray first heard on the Ossianic Controversy." He says: "The black hair, dark eye, and dusky skin of the small-sized Celt, were considered by these philosophers to indicate an habitation for souls less gifted than those which usually dwell under the yellow hair, blue eye, and fair skin of the bulky Goth. This conceit has been revived of late in Germany and in America; and people talk of the superiority of the Gothic, Germanic or Anglo-Saxon race, as if no such people had ever existed as the Romans, the Spaniards, the French—no such men as Cæsar, Buonaparte, Cicero, Montesquieu, Cervantes, Ariosto, Raphael, Michael Angelo. If the superiority they claim were true, it would be found not to belong at all to that branch of the one great northern race which is called Teutonic, Gothic, Germanic, or Anglo-Saxon—for that branch in England was, previous to the settlements of the Danes or Northmen in the 9th or 11th centuries, and is at this day throughout all Germany, morally and socially degenerate, and all distinct and distinguishing spirit or nationality in it dead; but to the small cognate branch of the Northmen or Danes, who between the 9th and 12th centuries brought their paganism, energy, and social institutions to bear against, conquer, mingle with, and invigorate the superstitious, inert descendants of the old Saxon race."[§]

* *The Helmskringla, or Chronicle of the Kings of Norway.* By Samuel Laing.

the Rhine, at an early period they had settled in that part of Gaul, and had driven out the natives; and that they were "the only people who, in the memory of our fathers, when all Gaul was overrun, had prevented the Teutones and the Cimbri from entering their territories."* From this it would appear that the Belgæ, at the time of settling in Gaul, had a very large proportion of German blood in their veins, but that, in process of time, they became mixed with the Gallic tribes, and every day became more unlike their German ancestors. According to a modern writer of distinction, the name Belgæ belongs to the Kymric idiom, in which, under the form *Belgiadd*, the radical of which is *Belg*, it signifies warlike.†

Percy admits that Sallust, Appian, and Rufus call the Cimbri Celts and Gauls;‡ and what is still more strongly relied on, that the ancient Britons, who were undoubtedly Celts, called themselves Cymri. It is not true, however, that all the ancient Britons so called themselves. The Welsh did, and do so call themselves to this day; but the question arises, Are the Welsh Celts? In other words, are they of the same race as the Gauls in Britain and France and the Irish and the Highlanders of Scotland? Until very recently it was assumed that the Welsh language was a dialect of the Erse, and that the people of Ireland and the inhabitants of Wales were the same race. But closer investigation refutes that opinion. Modern Irish and Welsh scholars have shown that the languages are entirely different, not more than one word in every fifteen being alike, and even then the pronunciation and meaning being different. The construction of the two languages is very dissimilar. Sir William Bentham, who has devoted great research to the subject, observes, "that the true origin of the Gauls and Britons has remained so long a mystery, may chiefly be attributed to two notions which have prevailed to an extraordinary extent." They are the following:

"The first is, that universally admitted axiom that the Welsh are the genuine descendants of the Roman Britons, who retired into Wales on the fall of the Roman Empire, and there preserved their language and independence.

"The second is, that there is little difference between the Welsh and the Irish language, both being considered branches of the Celtic.

"Neither of these propositions is true; the Welsh are not the descendants of the ancient Roman Britons, and there are not, perhaps, two languages less similar in their construction than the Welsh and Gaelic."§

* De Bell. Gall., lib. ii., cap. 4. † Amadée Thierry, *Hist. des Gauls*, I., p. xxxvii.

‡ Sallust, *Bell. Jugurth.* in fine. Appianus, *Ἱστορία Ρωμαίων*, lib. 4. Rufus, cap. vi.

§ The Gael and Cymri. By Sir William Bentham. P. 142.

Rev. Peter Roberts, in his translation of Jeoffrey of Monmouth's "Chronicle of the Kings of Britain," bears similar testimony; and as he is a learned Welsh scholar, his testimony is of weight. He says identity of race "can be inferred only from identity of language, customs and laws, but more especially from that of language, as the other two are often adopted. Since, therefore, the languages of the Cymry and Gael are perfectly distinct, they must be distinct nations." He adds: "In the first nine columns of the Irish dictionary printed by Lhuyd, in his *Archæologia*, there are four hundred words, of which I have not been able to discover more than twenty in common to both languages. Moreover, the grammatical structure as to the declension and construction are *radically* different. The Welsh, though abundant in radical words and copious in compounds, has left but few radical synonyms; the Gael, if I may judge from the dictionaries, abounds with them; a circumstance which proves that the Gael must have had intimate intercourse with other nations,* and that the Cimbri had met on their way thither." * * * "From these circumstances I am persuaded that the Cymry and Gael (or Celts) are distinct nations; and they seem to me to have come by distinct routes to Britain; the Cymry from the north, and the Gael by a route to the south of Mount Hamus and the Alps." Mr. Roberts is the first Welsh writer who boldly and honestly upset all the pretensions of his countrymen to be the Britons of Cæsar's day, who are distinctly stated by Herodotus, Cæsar, and Tacitus to have been the same people as the Gauls, and consequently Celts. Tacitus, moreover, affirms that the first Celtic immigrations to Europe were "made by sea, in ships," while he considered "the Germans an indigenous race, and the original natives of the country." To these considerations it may be added, that the Welsh were ignorant of the religion of the Druids, common to the Celts of Britain, Ireland and Gaul; and if they had been the Britons of the country under the Roman sway, they would have carried with them to the mountains the institutions, language, and religion of the Britons, if not the civilization, laws, and customs of the Romans.

Bentham holds that the Welsh are the Caledonian Picts, that they are of German extraction, and that they inhabited the country before the Celts arrived. On the arrival of the Phœnician (Gaelic (or Celtic) colony, they called the inhabitants Britons, or painted people, which, in Latin, is *Picti*, or *Piets*, from the fact of their staining their bodies.† Tacitus says of

* A strong corroboration of the Phœnician origin of the Gael, the Phœnicians being the great commercial nation of antiquity.

† It is worthy of remark that the Welsh called their princes *Brddi*, or painted. "These Britons," says Buchanan, "the *Arif* in Germany, and the *Agathyrst*

the Caledonians who occupied the north of Great Britain, "the ruddy hair and lusty limbs of the Caledonians indicate a German extraction;"* while of the inhabitants of the south of England he concludes that they were a colony of Celts from Spain, "from the olive tincture of their skin, the natural curl of their hair, and the situation of the country so convenient to the coast of Spain." "You will find," he adds, "in both nations the same religious rites and the same superstition. The two languages differ but little."

Mr. Chalmers, in his "Caledonia," quotes from Eumenius, an orator who flourished about the year 300, the expression, *Caledones aliique Picti*—"the Caledonians and other Picts,"—thus regarding the Caledonians and Picts as the same people. Towards the conclusion of the fourth century Ammianus Marcellinus also wrote of them as the same people: "*Eo tempore Picti in duas gentes divisi Di-Caledones et Vecturiones.*"† "The former inhabited the western coast, and were separated from the latter by the mountains." Mr. Chalmers thus concludes: "That the Picts were Caledonians, we have thus seen in the mention of classic authors during three centuries; that the Caledonians were the North Britons who fought Agricola at the foot of the Grampian, we know from the nature of events and the attestation of Tacitus."

Dr. Macpherson, in his Dissertation on the Ancient Caledonians, says: "It was an established tradition a thousand years ago, that the Picts were the original inhabitants of the northern division of Britain." Bede says, in his Ecclesiastical History, "that they came to Caledonia from Scythia, the European part of which, according to Pliny, comprehends Germany. The authority of the venerable writer was never questioned on this head, and a belief has ever obtained that the Picts were a different race from the Gauls who possessed the southern parts of Britain.‡ Camden, "the Pausanias of England," who wrote three centuries ago, says that authors have given but small information about the language of the Picts, but that it seems to have been the same with the Welsh,§ and then cites the names of various Scotch towns and counties to show the identity of the languages, such as Murray, Merne, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Strathbolgy, Strathdu, and Strathern. In addition to the observations of Camden about the Welsh

painted their bodies; but it was to render them more terrible in battle that they stained themselves with the juice of herbs." The process was puncturing with a sharp iron instrument and rubbing into the wound the juice of herbs, (madder,) which makes an indelible stain, such as sailors are in the habit of making on their arms.

* Life of Agricola.

† Section xii.

‡ Ammian. Marcell., lib. xxvii., c. 7.

§ Camden's Britannia.

language apparent in the Scotch names, we may refer to the County of Cumberland, in the north of England, on the borders of Scotland. It plainly bears the name of the Cymbri or Cumreag—"the land of the Cymbri." It was one of their first conquests from the Roman province after passing the wall. The province of Cumbria, in Scotland, is still more to the point. Of that, the capital was *Caer al Cluid*, which, according to some, is Dumbarton, and others Glasgow. This is the first district in which the Cymbri settled, and they gave it their own name Cymbria, since changed to Cumbria, the English U having the sound of the Welsh Y. It is well known that in this region was the theatre of the acts of the Welsh Prince Arthur, and that his name is more celebrated in Scotland than in Wales, many places being called after him, as "Arthur's Seat," near Edinburgh. The Welsh themselves say they came from Scotland, and that they were the same people as the Strathcluyd Britons, who were Picts. The disappearance of the Picts from Scotland and from history is contemporaneous with the appearance of the Cymbri in Wales. The inference is clear. After the Roman legions withdrew from Britain, a colony of Picts advanced southward and conquered Cornwall and Wales, and extended their conquests even into Armorica Gaul, to which they gave the name of Brittany, from Britain. The Picts who remained behind in Scotland were assailed by the Gael, or Scots as they were called, of the western mountains of North Britain, until they were completely exterminated by Kenneth MacAlpine, and but for their colonies in Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany, their descendants would not now exist, and the name of Cymbri would have disappeared from the earth.* Hence it will be found that Bi-hop Percy is in error, in classifying the Cornish and Armorican as dialects of the Irish.† They are dialects of the Welsh, and the people are not Celts, but Cymbri.

The history of the early colonization of Ireland confirms these views. Three nations in succession have possessed Ireland—the Firbolgs, the Tuath de Danans, and the Gael or Milesians. The original inhabitants, the Firbolgs, after some centuries of possession, are said to have been exterminated or expelled by the Tuath de Danaus, who in their turn were driven out by the Gael, whose descendants were in possession at the time of the English invasion by Henry II, in the 12th century. In the Firbolgs, we recognize the Belgæ, who occupied the greater part of northern Gaul in the time of

* Bentham's Gael and Cymbri, p. 415.

† All that remains of the ancient Celtic language is the Irish in Ireland, the Erse in the Highlands of Scotland, and the Manks in the Isle of Man.

Caesar, and previously all Gaul and Britain. According to Augustin Thierry, the Belgæ settled on the east coast of England, and oppressed the country for four hundred years, till they were driven out by the Romans.* From Ireland the first invaders were ejected by the Zuath de Danans, who are said to have come from the land of Loghlin, or Denmark, as the name indicates, and passed over in the first instance to the north of Scotland. These men seem to be the Cimbric ancestors of the Picts and Caledonians and the Welsh, to whom the Gael gave the name of northmen, while they called themselves Cimbri. The immense hordes which the Cimbri poured into Gaul is an example of their manner of proceeding, and accounts for the destruction of the entire Belgic population, and the instantaneous and complete occupation of the two islands of Britain and Ireland by an innumerable multitude of people. That they possessed both Britain and Ireland on the arrival of the Gael, would appear by their name of Britons, which is Gaelic, and was given on account of the habit of painting their bodies, as before mentioned. The Gael or Scoti† were a Celtic colony from Phœnicia, and landed in Ireland under Milesius, driving out the Danes or Cimbri. They finally emigrated to the north of Scotland, and drove out all that remained of the Cymbri, after they had colonized Wales. If, then, the ancient Cimbri are identical with the Picts and Caledonians of Scotland and the Cymbri of Wales, it would seem that they are neither Gothic nor Celtic in their origin. Their old language has no affinity with either. Who the Cymbri were, will perhaps remain for ever unknown. The Gael of Spain, Britain, and Gaul were conquered by the Romans, and being amalgamated with the conquerors, their history and traditions were totally obliterated, and themselves as a separate people entirely lost; no vestige remaining but the names given by them to countries, peoples, mountains, &c., with some prominent features of their character handed down by Greek and Roman writers. The Irish and Welsh having never been subjugated to the Roman power, remained unmixt specimens of ancient nations, with their language, customs, and religion. Of the Phœnicians we are well informed by the ancient classic writers of Greece and Rome. But of the Cimbri there are no historical monuments which go further back than the arrival of Odin, which Torfaeus places about seventy years before

* Norman Conquest, book I., p. 4.

† Scoti is said to be the same as Seythæ, the *e* being hard like *k*, as if written skæta. But Bentham contends that they were so called from the Celtic word *scud*, a mariner, derived from *scud*, a ship, indicating the Phœnician and commercial origin of the Irish Celts.

Christ.* All that passed in Scandinavia before that time would have been entirely unknown to us, but for the single gleam of light which is thrown upon the darkness by the Roman historians, in their accounts of the Cimbric invasion of Gaul and Italy.

But whatever may be the origin of this ancient people, it is certain that it has left its "footprints in the sands of time." Its "sea-kings" were long the terror of Europe. Its maritime expeditions are the most successful on record. Like the Greeks, the sea was their element, but even their shortest voyages bore them much farther from their native shores than the boasted expedition of the Argonauts. Their familiarity with the perils of the ocean, and with the diversified manners and customs of foreign lands, stamped their national character with bold and original features, which distinguished them from every other people. The sublime grandeur of the natural scenery of their country must have also influenced the national character of the Scandinavians, and given inspiration to their poetry.

Wild the Runie faith,
And wild the realms where Scandinavian chiefs
And Skalds arose, and hence the Skald's strong verse
Partook the savage wildness.

Their passion for arms was intense, and was nurtured by all their institutions. They looked upon war as an act of justice, and esteemed force an incontestable title over the weak; a visible mark that God had intended to subject them to the strong. Hence they gave the name of the *Divine Judgment* not only to the Judiciary Combat, but to battles and conflicts of all kinds; victory being in their opinion the only certain mark by which Providence enables us to distinguish those whom it has appointed to rule others. "Valor," says a northern warrior, quoted by Tacitus, "is the only proper goods of men. The gods range themselves on the side of the strongest."† In an ancient Icelandic poem, a Scandinavian, to assure himself of a person's good faith, requires him to swear "by the shoulder of a horse and the edge of a sword." Religion, by annexing eternal happiness to the military virtues, gave an extraordinary impulse to the martial ardor of the Northmen. It assigned a paradise called Valhalla to all heroes, like the Mohammedan faith and the religion of the North American Indians. Hence Odin may be regarded with truth as the

* There is, in truth, no reliable Scandinavian history beyond the ninth century. All before that time is traditional, and so mixed up with fable, that it is impossible to separate the chaff from the wheat. As for the period of the arrival of Odin with his conquering *Aseer*, (Asiatics,) Carlyle observes: "Far, very far beyond the year 79, Odin's date, adventures, whole terrestrial history, figure and environment, are sunk from us for ever into unknown thousands of years."

† Tacitus, Hist., lib. iv., c. 17.

Mahomet of Scandinavia. The duel is one of their institutions, which they introduced into the other countries of Europe. All through Scandinavia a man was provoked to fight a duel by publicly calling him "niding," or an infamous coward—the same provocation as giving the lie in modern times. To make the matter more formal, there was a custom of setting up in the ground the "nithing-stake," a hazel twig, and applying the epithet at the same time.* Most of the laws and customs which prevailed in Scandinavia were transplanted in other countries by the colonies which settled in them. In Iceland they were brought to a remarkable degree of perfection. Their institutions followed the Danes into England, where they were revived by Alfred and Canute, after having nearly fallen into desuetude amidst the wars and revolutions that incessantly convulsed the kingdom. The chairing of mayors, members of Parliament, and other public functionaries, is derived from an ancient practice in Sweden of lifting the king immediately after his election on the shoulders of the chiefs, in order that all the people might see and recognize his person. The Northmen carried their native usages into France, and saw them incorporated by Rollo into the legislation of his new duchy. Even the famous "hue and cry," (*clameur de haro*,) so admirably adapted to preserve order in a barbarous community, by making a whole district responsible for all offences committed in the neighborhood, is traced to the Scandinavians. The curfew, which so long prevailed in England, was introduced by the Norman Conqueror. Spain, Italy and Sicily have retained vestiges of the judicial institutions introduced by the Northern adventurers; and the famous Saxon and Frisian law in Germany (one of the oldest literary monuments of the Teutonic nations) has been ascribed to Harald Blaatand.† Trial by jury, to which human liberty is so indebted, comes from the Scandinavians; whether we derive the institution from the ceremony of compurgation, in which twelve witnesses or compurgators asserted upon their oath the innocence of the accused party;‡ or to the practice at the Thing or Court held every spring, in which three magistrates or judges each summoned twelve assessors or doomsmen (*doms-menn*) to sit with him to hear causes.§ in the court or

* Mallet, p. 154.

† Sharon Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons.

‡ Sir Walter Scott, in his Abstract of the Eyrbyggja-Saga, being the early annals of a district of Iceland, gives an account of a trial before the popular assembly of a woman named Geirrida, for witchcraft. She was acquitted by the ceremony of compurgation; and Sir Walter says, "this formed, as is well known, the remote origin of the trial by jury."—*Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, p. 521.

§ This appears to be the true origin of jury trial. The court was held in the open air. A circle was formed with hazel twigs or upright stones, to which were attached cords called *vebond*, to complete the circle. Within this circle sat the three

circle called the doomring, (*domhringr*.) Hence the Doomsday Book of William the Conqueror.

The names of four out of seven of the days of the week in our language are derived from the heathen mythology of Scandinavia. Tuesday is derived from Tir, the Mars of the Scandinavians, who presided over contests of all kinds. In the old Norse it is Tirsdagr; Swedish, Tisdag; Danish, Tirsdag; Anglo-Saxon, Tyvesdag. The Germans call it Dienstag, and the Dutch Dingsdag, which means suit-day or court-day, as it was upon this day that the Thing or court opened. The practice prevailed for some time in England, and in some states it is still continued. Wednesday means Odinsday, the day consecrated to the god of that name. The old Norse has it Odinsdagr; Anglo-Saxon, Wodensdag. Thursday, consecrated to the God Thor, is Thorsday; Old Norse, Thorsdagr; Anglo-Saxon, Thursdag; German, Donnerstag; Dutch, Donderdag, (the Thunderer's day.) Thursday was rendered into Latin by *Dies Jovis*, Jove being the god of Thunder. Friday is the day of Frigga or Freyja, the wife of Thor, a goddess corresponding with the Venus of Greece and Rome. She was sometimes called Airtha, which, in English, is Earth, and worshipped as "the mother of the gods." The old English name of Christmas, (Yule,) with its burning log and all its curious rites and ceremonies, is directly borrowed from the Scandinavians, and intimately connected with their mythology.

During the eighth, ninth, and the tenth centuries, the seas were covered with the vessels of the Scandinavian pirates, variously called Danes or Northmen, according as they came from the islands of the Baltic Sea or the coast of Norway; and from one end of Europe to the other those countries now the most powerful became a prey to their depredations. The conversion of the Southern Teutons to the Christian faith had broken the bond of fraternity between them and the Teutons of the North. In the ninth century the Sons of Odin treated as apostates the Germans, who had become children of the Church. A sort of patriotic and religious fanaticism was thus

Judges and the doomsmen, three times twelve, or thirty-six in all. Any doomsman, to whom either plaintiff or defendant objected, was instantly replaced by the judge who had nominated him. As the court was held near the temple, the "altar-ring" was brought thence, on which every one engaged in the suit, whether plaintiff or defendant, witnesses or doomsmen, was obliged to swear "in the name of Frey, Njord, and the Almighty God," that he would act justly and fairly. By "the Almighty God" the Icelanders and Norwegians meant Thor, the Swedes and Danes Odin. In Egil's Saga there is a graphic description of a Norwegian Thing, at which Queen Gunhilda, fearing that the verdict would be pronounced in favor of Egil, caused one of her followers to cut the sacred cords, (*reband*;) and thereby put a stop to the proceedings; cutting the cords being regarded as a profanation of the forensic circle, and as a crime that merited the severest punishment.—See *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, p. 292. *Egil's Saga*, and *Muller's Sagabib*, I., 115.

combined in the Scandinavians with the fiery impulsiveness of their character, and an insatiable thirst for plunder. They shed with joy the blood of the priests, and stabled their horses in the chapels of the palaces. When they had devastated and burned some district of the Christian territory, they mockingly said, "We have sung them the mass of lances; it commenced early in the morning, and lasted until night." The same chief commanded on the sea and on the land. The sea-king was only king at sea and on the battle-field. In the hour of the banquet there was no distinction, and the horn, filled with beer, passed from hand to hand. The sea-king was followed and obeyed because he was renowned as the bravest of the brave; as one who had never slept under a smoke-dried roof. Under such a chief the Scandinavian pirates pursued "the road of the swans," as their ancient national poetry expressed it.* They made incursions on the coasts of Livonia, Courland, and Pomerania. During the space of two hundred years they almost incessantly ravaged England, and frequently subdued it and ruled it. As early as the year 852 they sailed up the Thames with an expedition of 350 ships, plundering Canterbury and London.† They finally, as Danes, settled in the country, where, as we have seen, a colony of their ancestors, under the name of Cymbri, had settled many centuries before. The Danes also visited Scotland and Ireland, but were driven out of the latter country by Brian Boru, in a great decisive battle at Clontarf, near Dublin.‡

* Thierry's Norman Conquest.

† Sharon Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons.

‡ The first appearance of the Danish invaders on the coast of Ireland was referred by Usher to the year 797, in which they landed on the island of Rathlin, adjacent to its northern shore. In the following year they effected a landing on the western coast of Munster. Though the invaders are all called Danes, they appear from the Irish accounts to have consisted of different races. One tribe was named Leth-Mamui, and is supposed to have been composed of Livonians, the country of these people having been named Letten; others were named Fionne-Gail and Dubh-Gail, the words *fionne* and *dubh* signifying respectively *white* and *black*. The fair, perhaps the Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians. But who were the dark race? Were they not Celts? It was by these visits to Ireland, as well as from the Irish who first settled Iceland, that Scandinavia received its first lessons in modern civilization. It is said that Scandinavia received from Ireland its earliest knowledge of literature and Christianity, and Denmark and Norway its *Seidhs*, or heroic chronicles. It is admitted by the historians of Norway and Denmark, that the *Seidhs* were introduced into those countries from Iceland, that the first settlers of Iceland were Irish, that the first churches were erected there by Irish monks, and that letters still named *Irish*, *Old*, were brought thither from Ireland. It is particularly mentioned that the first Norwegian settlers in Iceland found there Irish books. It is agreed that Iceland was not inhabited before the year 874, at which time the Danes, possessing themselves of some of the maritime places of Ireland, drove out the inhabitants, a portion of whom settled in Iceland. Thus the barbarous incursions of the Danes appear to have operated circuitously to the refinement of their own country. Poets among the Irish were named *Seidhuidhe*, or narrators of events, from which, according to the most eminent philologists, the Scandinavian *Seidh* is derived.*

* See O'Connor, Epist. Nuncup., pp. 26, 27.

They extended their operations to the Black Sea. They ravaged the towns and coasts of ancient Russia, peopled by colonies of Slavonic origin. In the ninth century, or, more accurately, in the year 862, Rurick, leading a Swedish colony, took possession of the principal of these towns, Novgorod, and became the founder of the Russian empire, and the ancestor of a long line of princes, whose dynasty flourished for upwards of seven hundred years. It is worthy of remark, that by the battle of Pultowa, fought by Charles XII. of Sweden with the Russians in 1709, the Scandinavians lost the dominion of the North, and it passed over to their old colony. When the Scandinavians obtained a footing in Russia, they infested the shores of the Black Sea, and appeared before Constantinople itself, levying tribute from the degenerate emperors. Alexis, indeed, took a band of them into his pay as his body-guard. But these rovers plundered the palaces as well as guarded them; and we know that Harald, who commanded this guard, amassed a treasure from this plunder, as well as from the booty he obtained in his campaign against the Saracens, which enabled him to marry the daughter of the Russian Czar, and gain possession of the throne of Norway. An account of one of their expeditions to the Caspian Sea during the reign of Rurick's son, Igor, has come to us. In this expedition they carried their light barks across the country on rollers from one river to another—from the Don to the Volga—as they frequently did in England and France. They carried their arms into Spain, and even made themselves dreaded in Italy and Greece. In 844 a band of these sea-rovers sailed up the Guadalquivir and attacked Seville, of which they soon made themselves masters. The Moorish king, hearing what happened, sent down a fleet against them from Cordova, and a sanguinary conflict took place between the followers of Odin and Mahomet, both excited to the highest pitch by the spirit of fanaticism—the votaries of one prophet beholding in vision, as his reward, the joys of Valhalla, and those of the other the dark-eyed Houris of the Mohammedan Paradise waving their green kerchiefs in welcome to those who braved death. This seems to be the first time the Moors came in contact with the Northmen, whom they believed to be a nation of magicians. The Northmen succeeded in carrying off with them the spoils of the city and many fair captives.*

Already feared before the time of Charlemagne, they became still more terrible after his death. He is known to have shed tears on hearing that they had defied his name and baffled all

* Depping, *Histoire des Expéd. Maritimes des Normands*, liv. ii., chap. 2.

the precautions he took to arrest their ravages. He foresaw what his people would suffer under his feeble successors.* They soon spread like a devouring flame over Lower Saxony, Friesland, Holland, Flanders, and the banks of the Rhine as far as Mentz. They penetrated into the heart of France, having long before laid waste its coasts. They found their way up the Somme, the Seine, the Loire, the Garonne, and the Rhone. Within a period of thirty years they frequently pillaged and burned Paris, Amiens, Orleans, Poitiers, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Nantes and Tours. They settled in Camargue at the mouth of the Rhone, whence they ravaged Provence and Dauphney as far as Valence. In short, they ruined France, levied immense tribute on its monarchs, consumed the palace of Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle, and finally caused one of the finest provinces of the kingdom to be ceded to them—Neustria, to which they gave the name of Normandy.

Rollo having laid siege to Paris, received this province from Charles the Simple, in purchase of peace, in perpetuity to himself and his posterity as a feudal duchy dependent on the crown of France. This famous treaty by which Charles agreed to give his daughter Gisele in marriage, upon condition that he would do homage for it and embrace the Christian religion, was concluded at St. Clair, A. D. 912. A description of the interview between Charles and this new duke gives us a curious picture of the manners of the Normans. Rollo would not take the oath of fealty in any other way than by placing his hands in those of the king, and absolutely refused to kiss his feet, as custom then required. It was with great difficulty he was prevailed on to allow one of his warriors to perform this ceremony in his stead; but the officer to whom Rollo deputed the service suddenly raised the king's foot so high that he overturned him on his back—a piece of rudeness which was only laughed at; to such a degree were the Normans feared and Charles despised.†

Normandy was well governed by its new duke, and became a prosperous province. But it was too small for the ambition and aspirations of the descendants of the sea-rovers. The Normans set out on a pilgrimage to Southern Italy, under pre-

* See Michelet's History of France, book I., chap. 2, who quotes the Emperor's words, as follows: "Scitis, o fideles mei, quid tantopereploraverim? Non haec timo quod istis virgibus mihi aliquid nocere prævalcant; nimium contristor quod, me vivente, ausi sunt litus istud attingere; et maximo dolore torquor, quia prævidio quanta mala posteris meis et eorum sint facturi subjectis."

† Mallet's Northern Antiquities, p. 185. Robert Wace, in his *Roman de Rou*, thus says:

Le roi enversa tut arrière
De ce fu ris a grant manière.

tence of driving out the Saracens. The Pope led some Italians and Germans against them; but after a faint resistance his army ran away and left him a prisoner in the hands of the Normans, who exacted from him as a fief of the Church the Two Sicilies—a scene which was re-enacted in a century after, when a descendant of one of these Normans made another Pope prisoner, and forced him to receive his homage and declare himself and his successors legates of the Holy See in Sicily. Robert L'Avise (*Guiscard*) completed the conquest of Southern Italy, and made himself Duke of Apulia and Calabria, while his younger brother Roger wrested the island of Sicily from the Arabs, and a descendant of his united Southern Italy to his insular dominion, and so founded the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, known in modern times as Naples.

It was Normandy, and a successor of its first duke, Rollo, that in 150 years after his conquest, gave England the first of a new line of kings, and the blood of the bastard Northman, son of "Robert the Devil," still flows in the veins of its sovereigns. Nor is this all: William the Conqueror divided the land of the Saxons between his sixty thousand followers, and they hold it to this day, while this class and their institutions rule the kingdom, making it the most powerful and stable in Europe. William introduced a new principle into the feudal system, upon which Michelet remarks: "Whatever the evils with which the conquest may have been attended, its result, in my opinion, was of immense service to England and to mankind. For the first time there was a government. The social bond, loose and floating in France and Germany, was tightly strung in England. The barons, few in number, and in the midst of a whole people whom they oppressed, were obliged to array themselves around the king. William received the oath of the *arrière* vassals, as well as that of the vassals. Now the vassals of the King of France did ready homage to him; but had he gone to the Duke of Guyenne or the Count of Flanders, and demanded that the barons and knights dependent on either should do him, not them, homage, he would have fared very differently. But in this lay the germ of the whole; a monarchy which depended on the homage of the great vassals alone was purely nominal. Removed by its elevation in the political hierarchy from those lower ranks in which dwelt the true strength of the nation, it remained solitary and weak at the top of the pyramid, while the great vassals, placed between the two extremes, rested firmly upon the powerful base."* This explains why it is that the French monarchy fell, while the

* Translation by Smith, vol. I., p. 203.

English has survived for eight hundred years. It is worthy of remark, that it was not by arms alone the Saxons were conquered. The Normans had long intrigued in England, and had supplied it with bishops and civil office-holders. "The Anglo-Saxons," says William of Malmesbury, "had long before the arrival of the Normans neglected the study of letters and religion. The priests could scarcely stammer out the words of the sacraments, and were all astonished if any one of them were acquainted with grammar." Thus was the pear ripe for William and his barons, who were educated men. "Their predilection lay towards Roman and ecclesiastical civilization. We discern in them as early as the tenth and eleventh centuries, that character—compound of scribe and legist—which has rendered their name proverbial in Europe. A compound of audacity and of stratagem; conquerors and chicaners, like the ancient Romans; knights, shaven like the priests, and good friends of the priests, (at the beginning at least,) they made their fortune by the church and despite of the church. They made it by the lance of Judas, too."^{*} The Normans furnish a remarkable instance of how completely a people may lose their own language, and even the language they adopt in its stead. "They were a mixed race, in whom the Neustrians predominated by far over the Scandinavian element. Undoubtedly, as seen on the Bayeux tapestry, with their scale-armor, peaked casques, and nose-pieces, one would be tempted to believe these iron fish the pure and lawful descendants of the old pirates of the North. However, they spoke French from the third generation, at which period not one among them understood Danish. They were obliged to send their children to learn it of the Saxons of Bayeux. The names of William the Bastard's followers are pure French. The conquerors of England, says Ingulphus, abhorred the Anglo-Saxon tongue."[†] Yet in two or three generations it became their mother tongue; and so continues to the present time.

The effect of language in uniting nationalities or severing them, has received a remarkable illustration in the case of the Normans. The Danes and Norwegians maintained relations of alliance and affection with Normandy so long as they found in the resemblance of language the token of an ancient national fraternity. But when the use of the French became universal in Normandy, the Scandinavians ceased to look upon the Normans as natural allies; they even ceased to give them the

^{*} Michelet and William of Malmesbury.

[†] *Idem*.

name of Normans, and called them Frenchmen.* Michelet accounts for the Northmen losing their language in this way: The Saxon emigrants, who, from the fourth to the sixth centuries, established themselves on the left bank of the Rhine and in England, have left their language there. The petty Saxon colony of Bayeux preserved their own tongue for at least 500 years. On the contrary, the Northmen of the ninth and tenth centuries adopted the speech of the people among whom they settled. Their kings did not introduce their language into Russia and France. The reason of the distinction is, that the first invasions consisted of whole families; not only the warriors, but their wives and children. Thus they were not blended with the conquered, but preserved the purity of their language and race; whereas the later invasions of the Scandinavian pirates appear to consist of the most part of "exiles, banished men who aspired to be sea-kings, for lack of land whereon to reign." "Furious wolves, whom hunger had driven from their paternal lair, they landed alone and without families; and when they were satiated with plunder, when by dint of annual visitations they had come to look upon the land which they pillaged as their own country—these new Romuluses repeated the tale of the Sabine women. They took wives, and the children of course spoke the language of their mothers."†

Nor were the expeditions of the Northmen confined to Europe. These daring adventurers were the first discoverers of America. In 982, Eirik being sentenced to banishment from Iceland, set sail towards the west in search of a coast that had been recently descried by a Norwegian navigator. His voyage proved successful. He discovered Greenland, and when the period of his banishment expired, he returned home and brought out with him, in 986, a number of settlers who colonized the country. A full account of these voyages and of the remains of the Northmen left in Greenland, including the runic inscriptions on stones, will be found in the *Antiquitates Americane*, edited at Copenhagen, by the learned Professor Rafn.

To discuss the religion and literature of the ancient Scandinavians, including an account of their Eddas, Sagas, Scalds, and Runes, together with their arts, laws, manners, and customs, would far exceed the limits of this article, and would require a separate paper—a task which we may undertake at a future day.

* Thierry's Norman Conquest. † Michelet's History of France, vol. i., chap. 3.

ART. IX.—*The Social Condition and Education of the People of England.* By JOSEPH KAY, Esq., M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, Barrister at Law, &c., &c. 12mo, pp. 323. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1863.

A LARGE proportion of the contents of this volume is truly startling. We would fain hope that the graver statements which it contains are much exaggerated, for they are painful in the highest degree. But it is impossible to believe, on reflection, that so many witnesses of the highest respectability would allow their names to go before the public as bearing testimony to a state of facts which does not really exist. We do not, however, take up the book in any vindictive spirit; or with the view of pandering to the prejudices of any party, sect, or clique. In other words, we take no pleasure in exhibiting to public gaze the miseries of a large proportion of the working classes of England, because that country is a monarchy, or has institutions different from our own; nor shall we be actuated in doing so by the conduct of Great Britain towards this country since the present war commenced, however unfriendly that conduct has been. We are not in favor of monarchy; we have a decided preference for our own form of government. We think, moreover, that England has deserved the ill-will of the loyal States of the Union; but these are questions of a different character from those which are discussed in the volume before us; and we have no disposition to confound the former with the latter. If we have any motive in calling the attention of our readers to the appalling degradation of the English classes alluded to, further than to perform our duty as journalists, by giving publicity to facts of startling interest with which so few of our people are acquainted, it is to show to what incalculable miseries the neglect of education leads. It is as incumbent upon nations as it is upon individuals to profit by the experience of others; if that experience is good, it ought to be imitated as far as possible; if bad, it ought to serve as a warning. With these introductory remarks as a basis, we proceed to quote such passages as seem to give the best authenticated accounts of the condition of the laboring poor, both in England and Wales. The American editor introduces the work to us as follows:

"Some eighteen months passed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, during which time I visited all the great working centres, as well as many of the principal agricultural counties, convinced me that the great culture, refinement, and education of the higher classes of society were purchased at the cost of *utter degradation and brutality of the lower orders*. Having collected full evidence from official documents, from reports of various societies, and from the daily press, monthly and quarterly reviews, that my personal convictions were correct, I was

prepared to lay before general American readers a picture of English life sufficiently revolting to persuade the most skeptical among us that our political institutions, notwithstanding all their faults, should be guarded as invaluable, if estimated by comparison with the result of the past thirty years' workings of Great Britain's internal policy."

We confess that if we had no better authority than the author of this, however, we should pay little attention to his statements, for his prejudices betray themselves in almost every line he writes. The following passage from his preface will show that his eighteen "months passed in England, Scotland, and Ireland," had but little effect in teaching him to contemplate human misery, not as a citizen of any particular country, but as a citizen of the world. Some of his neighbors, who have evidently much more understanding than himself, (although they have, perhaps, never been half a mile from home,) have been telling him that our own large cities have not much to boast of in their morals, or habits. To this he replies as follows: "Meanwhile, however, two years have proved to my own satisfaction that the *mass of the brutality* in our seaboard cities is *an imported article*; and while we cannot hope to land our immigrants *pure and undefiled*, when we know the source whence they are derived, we can and do raise their children from the mire, and we know that our country is now rich in respectable citizens, whose parents were part and parcel of Great Britain's brutality—*citizens who would have been born to a dead-weight of hopeless, life-long degradation, had those parents never come to America.*"

It is not necessary to leave home for one month, in order to see that this is silly logic; it would be quite sufficient for that purpose to read and think a little at home. A few plain facts, known to most intelligent people, would show that it by no means follows that the offspring of immigrants who arrive here poor and wretched, would have been born on the other side of the Atlantic only to "a dead-weight of hopeless, life-long degradation," &c. Thus, for example, has our author ever heard of Lord Tenterden, and of Sir Edward Sugden, both distinguished jurists, but the sons of barbers? It will hardly be pretended that the barbers belong to the English aristocracy; are they not rather of the lower class? Yet in these two instances at least—and we could mention several others—their sons were not born to "life-long degradation," although born on the east side of the Atlantic. But, perhaps, our philosopher will say, What of one or two lawyers? But Gibbon, the author of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*—undoubtedly one of the greatest of modern historians—had been apprenticed to a common shoemaker. Still lower in the social scale than the shoemaker or the barber is the butcher. Yet

Mark Aken-side, author of "The Pleasures of the Imagination," was a butcher's son. We could easily multiply instances of this kind among the highest ranks in England; but it is not necessary. The memory of every intelligent person will furnish him with at least sufficient to show that the sons of poor people may attain to eminence in other countries as well as in our own; we may add, however, that the illustrious Columbus, the discoverer of America, was but the son of a poor weaver, who at one time found considerable difficulty in earning the common necessities of life for his family.

But all the editor has said one way or other is not much; and the charge of prejudice cannot be made against the author of the original work. "Mr. Kay," we are told, "was commissioned by the Senate of Cambridge University, England, to travel through Western Europe, to examine the comparative social condition of the poorer classes of the different countries." His book was published in London, in 1850, entitled "The Social Condition and Education of the People of Europe." Thus it will be seen that the work has a semi-official character. That the author was qualified for the task he has undertaken, might have been inferred from his appointment by so learned a body; and the inference is fully sustained by the report he has made. If Mr. Kay can be said to entertain prejudices against any country or people, it is against his own; but we believe he is perfectly honest and unbiased in his statements, and that his only object has been to ameliorate the condition of the poor by showing the world how shockingly wretched they are. Far from praising up his own country as a model to all others, and magnifying the evils of the latter, he has the manliness and candor to pass judgment as follows: "The poor of England are more depressed, *more pauperized, more numerous in comparison to the other classes*, more irreligious, and *very much worse educated* than the poor of any other European nation, solely *excepting Russia, Turkey, South Italy, Portugal, and Spain*."—(P. 323.) This seems a bold assertion; but it is sustained by facts and figures which almost force the reader to accept it as indisputable truth. This would not have been the case had the author contented himself with giving us his own impressions, even of what he had been an eye-witness to; but throughout the book he brings upon the stand such witnesses as had the best opportunities of informing themselves on the subjects in regard to which they testify, and who could have had no interest in making false representations. Let us first turn to Mr. Kay's account of the frightful extent to which infanticide is carried among the poor of England; although the details are absolutely revolting:

"It appears that in our larger provincial towns the poor are in the habit of entering their children in what are called 'burial clubs.' A small sum is paid every year by the parent, and this entitles him to receive from £3 to £5 from the club on the death of the child. Many parents enter their children in several clubs. One man in Manchester has been known to enter his child in *nineteen* different clubs. On the death of such a child the parent becomes entitled to receive a large sum of money; and as the burial of the child does not necessarily cost more than £1, or, at the most, £1 10s., the parent realizes a considerable sum after all the expenses are paid!

"It has been clearly ascertained *that it is a common practice among the more degraded classes of poor in many of our towns, to enter their infants in these clubs, and then to cause their death, either by starvation, ill-usage, or poison! What more horrible symptom of moral degradation can be conceived?* One's mind revolts against it, and would fain reject it as a monstrous fiction. But, alas! it seems to be too true."—P. 82.

The author then proceeds to adduce official testimony in proof of his statements. The following extract, for example, is taken from the Sanitary Inquiry Report:

"Mr. Gardiner, the clerk to the Manchester Union, while registering the causes of death, deemed the cause assigned by a laboring man for the death of a child unsatisfactory, and staying to inquire, found that popular rumor assigned the death to wilful starvation. The child (according to a statement of the case) had been entered in at least *ten* burial clubs; and its parents had had *six* other children, who only lived from *nine to eighteen months, respectively*. They had received, from several burial clubs, £20 for *one* of these children, and they expected at least as much on account of this child. An inquest was held, at Mr. Gardiner's instance, when several persons who had known the deceased stated that she was a fine fat child shortly after her birth, but that she soon became quite thin, was badly clothed, and seemed as if she did not get a sufficiency of food."—P. 83.

From the mass of testimony, both official and private, on this painful subject, we take one more extract:

"In the other case, where the judge summed up for a conviction, the accused, the father, was, to the astonishment of every one, acquitted. In this case the body was exhumed after interment, and *arsenic was detected in the stomach*. In consequence of the suspicion raised upon the death, on which the accusation was made in the first case, the bodies of two other children were taken up and examined, when *arsenic was found in their stomachs*. In all these cases payments on the deaths of these children were insured from the burial clubs. The cost of the coffin and burial dues would not be more than about £1, and the allowance from the club is £3.

"It is remarked on these dreadful cases, by the superintendent registrar, *that the children who were boys, and therefore likely to be useful to the parents, were not poisoned; the female children were the victims*. It was the clear opinion of the medical officers that infanticides have been committed in Stockport to obtain the burial money."—P. 84.

Were these isolated cases they would not, bad as they are, excite so much horror; but it seems that such are quite com-

mon throughout England and Wales. In short, if we are to believe the statements of the local authorities and clergy, there is scarcely a parish in the whole island south of the Tweed, in which the crime of infanticide is not practised to a greater or less extent. If only illegitimate children were thus destroyed at their birth, or soon after, even the moralist might find some excuse for the offence; although nothing could justify it, the fear on the part of the mother of being exposed and disgraced might be regarded as an extenuating circumstance. But when married people deliberately starve or poison their children, either for the purpose of getting a little money, or in order to avoid their support, the state of degradation to which they must be reduced is low indeed. That such parents would kill as many of their neighbors as they could, if they got pay for it in a similar manner, need hardly be said; for fear of punishment would evidently be the only restraining motive.

We are assured that an utter want of female virtue is another prevailing characteristic among the same classes; but the English women are not so bad in this respect as the Welsh. If the latter are so devoid of shame as they are represented by their own countrymen, it may be doubted whether the women of any other country equal them in moral turpitude. The following is the testimony of the Rev. John Griffith, Vicar of Aberdare, in Central Wales:

"Nothing can be lower—I should say more degrading—than the character in which the women stand relative to the men. The men and women, married as well as single, live in the same house and *sleep in the same room*. The men do not hesitate to wash themselves naked before the women; on the other hand, the women do not hesitate to change their under garments before the men. Promiscuous intercourse is most common, is thought of as nothing, and the women do not lose caste by it."—P. 183.

Still worse, if possible, is the evidence of Rev. L. H. Davies:

"‘They,’ (the young people,) he says, ‘often meet at evening schools, in private houses, and this tends to immoralities between the young persons of both sexes, who frequently spend the night afterwards in hay-lofts together. So prevalent is want of chastity among the females, that, although I promised to return the marriage fee to all couples whose first child should be born after nine months from the marriage, only one in six years entitled themselves to claim it. Most of them were in the family-way. It is said to be a customary matter for them to have intercourse together on condition that they should marry if the woman becomes pregnant; but the marriage by no means always takes place. Morals are generally at a low ebb, but want of chastity is the giant sin of Wales. I believe that the best remedy for the want of morals and of education is that of the establishment of good schools, such as I have described.’—Pp. 191-2.

We can only make room for one extract more in reference

to this truly barbarous state of things. The Rev. John Price, rector of Bledfa, and a magistrate, says:

"Drunkenness is rare in this neighborhood, and the poorer classes are really honest, quiet, and industrious. The prevailing vice of the country is a disregard for chastity, a breach of which is considered neither a sin nor a crime. Apparently there is no disgrace attached to it; the women who have had two or three illegitimate children are as frequently selected by the young men for their wives as those of virtuous conduct.

"Probably the chief causes of this disregard to modesty and chastity may be referred, first, to the want of room in small farm-houses and cottages. Grown-up sons and daughters, and men and female servants, generally sleep in the same room. Secondly, to the bad habit of holding meetings at dissenting chapels and farm-houses after night, where the youth of both sexes attend from a distance for the purpose of walking home together. As a magistrate, I can safely report that in the investigation of numerous cases of bastardy, I have found most of them to be referred to the opportunities of meeting above mentioned."—P. 195.

But enough—nay, indeed, too much; and yet we have selected these passages more for their comparative freedom from grossness than for the positive and circumstantial manner in which they describe the degradation of their countrymen and countrywomen. We do not mean that any of the gentlemen who thus give their opinions in so painful a matter evince any disposition to indulge in improper language; but that some have the faculty of describing the same scenes much more chastely, and at the same time more graphically, than others. The remark that "Poverty is no shame" has become a proverb in various countries; and it is certainly true in those instances in which poverty is accompanied by honesty and virtue. The only instance in which it can be said to be otherwise is when it is the result of idleness, which generally leads to vice as well as to poverty.

It is truly sickening to read of the pauperism and crime of the lower orders in England, as described in this book. As already intimated, the author seldom requires us to rely on his own statements. In speaking of juvenile "wretchedness" and crime in the metropolis, he quotes the *Quarterly Review*, as follows:

"Every one who walks the streets of the metropolis must daily observe several members of the tribe—bold, and pert, and dirty as London sparrows, but pale, feeble, and sadly inferior to them in plumpness of outline. Their business, or pretended business, seems to vary with the locality. At the West End they deal in lucifer matches, audaciously beg, or tell a touching tale of woe. Pass on to the central parts of the town—to Holborn, or the Strand, and the regions adjacent to them—and you will find the members very greatly increased; a few are pursuing the avocations, above mentioned, of their more Corinthian fellows; many are spanning the gutters with their

legs, and dabbling with earnestness in the latest accumulation of nastiness; while others, in squalid and half-naked groups, squat at the entrances of the narrow, fetid courts and alleys, that lie concealed behind the deceptive frontages of our larger thoroughfares. White-chapel and Spitalfields teem with them like an ant's nest; but it is in Lambeth and Westminster that we find the most flagrant traces of their swarming activity. There the foul and dismal passages are thronged with children of both sexes, and of every age from three to thirteen. Though wan and haggard, they are singularly vivacious, and engaged in every sort of occupation *but that which would be beneficial to themselves and creditable to the neighborhood*. Their appearance is wild: the matted hair, the disgusting filth, that renders necessary a closer inspection before the flesh can be discerned between the rags which hang about it, and the barbarian freedom from all superintendence and restraint, fill the mind of a novice in these things with perplexity and dismay. Visit these regions in the summer, and you are overwhelmed by the exhalation; visit them in the winter, and you are shocked by the spectacle of hundreds shivering in apparel that would be scanty in the tropics. Many are all but naked; those that are clothed are grotesque; the trowsers, where they have them, seldom pass the knee; the tail-coats very frequently trail below the heels. In this guise they run about the streets, and line the banks of the river at low water, seeking coals, sticks, corks, for nothing comes amiss as treasure trove. Screams of delight burst occasionally from the crowds, and leave the passer-by, if he be in a contemplative mood, to wonder and rejoice that moral and physical degradation has not yet broken every spring of their youthful energies."—Pp. 60, 61.

After showing the immense annual amount necessary to keep the pauper class from starving, the author asks, "Why is it that the Prussian, Saxon, Swiss, and French peasantry do not require nearly so much public relief as this? Because *they have been taught and enabled to help themselves*, and because they are *assisted*, and not *hindered*, by legislation, in their efforts to work out their own salvation." Now let us see what our author says of the connection between ignorance and crime. Before giving any views of his own on the subject, he presents us the following statistics, taken from the official returns of crime committed in England and Wales from 1836 to 1848:

Years.	Total No. of Persons committed for Crime.	No. who could neither read nor write.		No. who could read only, or read and write imperfectly.		No. who could read and write well.		No. who had received superior education.		No. whose instruction was not ascertained.	
		Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.
1836	20,984	5,598	1,435	8,968	2,015	2,016	199	176	15	490	72
1837	23,672	6,684	1,780	10,147	2,151	2,057	177	98	3	421	94
1838	23,994	6,312	1,661	10,068	2,326	2,051	206	74	5	450	51
1839	24,443	6,487	1,709	10,323	2,548	2,291	201	74	4	546	90
1840	27,187	7,145	1,913	12,151	2,968	2,968	215	100	1	541	125
1841	27,760	7,312	1,908	12,742	2,990	1,839	214	126	0	541	88
1842	31,369	8,162	1,959	14,983	3,277	1,890	231	65	4	663	98
1843	29,591	7,344	1,829	13,892	3,153	2,127	244	134	6	754	108
1844	26,542	6,266	1,635	12,745	2,990	1,892	264	169	2	537	102
1845	24,363	5,628	1,740	11,215	2,964	1,859	178	86	3	483	77
*1846	25,107	7,698		14,941		1936		85		446	
*1847	28,833	9,501		16,980		2245		81		475	
1848	30,349	7,530	2,161	13,950	3,161	2,634	350	76	5	396	86

Mr. Porter, the compiler of this table, for his excellent work entitled "The Progress of the Nation," very truly observes that "the most cursory glance at these figures must carry conviction to every mind, that instruction has power to restrain men from the commission of crimes—of such a nature, at least, as will bring them before a bar of justice. If we class together those who can read and write, and those who have acquired only an imperfect acquaintance with those elementary branches of knowledge—the scaffolding, merely, for the erection of the normal edifice—we find that, in the ten years comprised in the returns, there were, out of 252,544 persons committed, and whose degrees of instruction were ascertained, the great proportion of 229,300, or more than 90 in 100 *uninstructed* persons; while *only 1,085 persons had enjoyed the advantages of instruction beyond the elementary degree*, and only 22,159 had mastered, without advancing beyond, the arts of reading and writing."—(P. 33.) This is followed by several pages of facts and figures, which show still more conclusively, if possible, than the above, that in proportion as education is neglected crime of every kind—especially the worst—increases. The author shows that the Established Church, with its immense revenues, is greatly to blame for the gross ignorance of the people, and holds it responsible, exclusively, for that almost universal feeling among the lower classes, which prompts them to go to the tavern on Sunday, during divine service, rather than attend the state church. "It is a common remark," he says, "of the operatives of Lancashire—and one which is only too true—Your church is a church for the rich, but not for the poor; it was not intended for such people as we are." The author then goes on to show that if the people are thus neglected by the rich church, they experience different treatment from what, in England at least, may be called the poor church. This fact is interesting in more than one point of view; especially when considered in connection with the following remarks:

"The Roman Church is much wiser than the English in this respect. It selects a great part of its priests from the poorest classes of society, and educates them gratuitously *in great simplicity of habits*. The consequence is, that they feel no difficulty in mingling with the poor. Many of them are not men of refined habits themselves, and are not therefore disgusted at want of refinement in others. They understand perfectly *what are the thoughts, feelings, and habits of the poor*. They know how to suit their demeanor, conversation, teaching, and actions, *so as to make the poor quite at ease with them*. They do not feel the disgust, which a more refined man cannot help feeling, in being obliged to enter the low haunts of the back streets and alleys.

"It is singular to observe how the priests of Romanist countries abroad associate with the poor. I have often seen them riding with

the peasants in their carts along the roads, eating with them in their houses, sitting with them in the village inns, mingling with them in their village festivals, *and yet always preserving their authority.* Besides this, the spectacles of the Romanist worship are much more attractive to the less educated masses, than the less imaginative forms of Protestant worship, and the services of the Roman Church are shorter and much more numerous than those of the English. *These causes fill the Romanist churches, both abroad, and in our manufacturing districts, on the Sundays, and at the early masses of the week days, with crowds of poor, who go there to receive the blessing of their priests, to hear prayers put up, which they believe to be for blessings, although they do not understand them, and to see the glittering spectacles of the Romanist worship exhibited before them.*"—P. 69.

This shows that it is not alone the Oxford Puseyites and their pupils that are leaving the Anglican church; it seems that the poor are doing so as well as the rich. Without giving any opinion as to the merits of one religion more than another, considered as a means of future salvation, we may observe that it is not in human nature that the poor could continue attached to a religion whose ministers are too aristocratic to sympathize with them in their sufferings, or to advise them personally as friends to avoid evil, if they could not render them any further aid. Upon the other hand, it is perfectly natural that those who suffer should learn to regard that religion as the best, whose ministers, far from evincing any disgust towards them, visit them at their humble abodes, however wretched or even filthy those abodes may be, and do all in their power to improve their condition. Nor are the wealthy and thoughtful who are witnesses of this conduct insensible to its influence; and in all this, there is explanation enough, it seems to us, for the remarkable reaction which has taken place in England in favor of the Church of Rome within the last ten years. Mr. Kay is by no means in favor of this state of things. "It behooves us," he says, "to consider these things, if the English Church is not willing to give up the poor to the care of the Romanist priests. There are significant facts before us, if we would but see them. Within the last few years, splendid Romanist churches, *full of free sittings,* have been springing up in all the crowded districts of England, and especially in the manufacturing towns of the north."—P. 70.

The oppressive character of the game laws is another grievance which is dwelt on at considerable length in the volume before us, and it is shown to bring ruin on thousands. "The great increase of late years in poaching," says Rev. Mr. Worsley,* "is a striking feature in rural crime. * * In

* Essay on Juvenile Depravity.

1844-45, and up to May, 1846, that is, during a period of eighteen months, the *convictions were 11,372, which gives an average of 4.834 per annum.*"* But let us see how those convictions are had, and what are their consequences. "This poor fellow, (the peasant-poacher,) who had no other amusement in which he could indulge, and *who has been goaded on by misery and destitution,* is caught by a game-keeper, is carried off to the tribunal of the petty sessions, where his own landlord, who is interested in his punishment, or where some other neighboring landlord, who is equally interested in his punishment, for the sake of his own sport, *is sitting as judge!* Before such an unfair tribunal the poor fellow is placed. *No jury is allowed him.* He is tried, judged, condemned, and sentenced by the landlords themselves, and is by them sent off to the county jail. * * There he becomes inured to the contemplation of vice of all kinds, and of all degrees. During the time of his incarceration, his poor wife and family are driven to the work-house, in order to save starvation. * * This is no fanciful picture. It is an occurrence of every day in the rural districts. About 5,000 *such committals* take place every year in England and Wales!"

But we cannot proceed any further. Those desiring more information must consult the book itself. It would be in the worst possible taste to exult in such a state of things, as the result of the English aristocratic system, however much we may dislike that system. We think it much more profitable as well as more charitable to take warning by it, and at least guard against ignorance and oppression, the worst brutalizers of the human race.

ART. X.—*Catalogues and Reports of various Colleges, Seminaries, &c.*

THERE is no better index of the intellectual progress of a nation than the amount of encouragement and support which it gives its first-class educational institutions; and none who have paid any attention to the subject can admit this fact without also admitting that our own country is honorably distinguished in this respect. It is true that we have more sham colleges, universities and seminaries than any other country in the world of equal population. Establishments of this kind we have paid some attention to from time to time, in this journal, as we have to different other kinds of quack enterprises; nor shall we be less

* Social Condition of the English People, p. 230.

mindful in the future of putting the public on its guard against what in our opinion is the most pernicious of impostures. This is particularly true of the sham seminaries for young ladies, whose "professors" it would be far cheaper in the end to pay for keeping their professions to themselves, than to allow them to undertake what they are incapable of performing, were they even willing to do the latter for nothing. But our purpose on the present occasion is simply to give our impressions, in brief, of such institutions as we have been able to visit personally, or hear from through reliable correspondents during the commencements of last summer; and it affords us pleasure to say, at the outset, that with one or two exceptions, the report we have to give of all is creditable to them, although in most cases there is ample room for improvement.

The first pamphlet we happen to open is the "Report of the Committee of the Overseers of Harvard College, appointed to visit the Library for the year 1862, together with the accompanying documents;" and a careful perusal satisfies us that "Old Harvard" continues to maintain a reputation which, although somewhat exaggerated, is founded on an honest and substantial basis. It is but fair to say that this impression is not derived solely from the "Report" before us, for we have visited the College more than once, and been allowed every facility by the professors of different departments to form an opinion of its efficiency. We have seen other institutions in which the standard of scholarship, both as regards the classic languages and the mathematics, seemed to us to be higher than it is at Harvard, but none whose system of teaching is better calculated, so far as it goes, to develop the reasoning faculties. On a future occasion we may enter into particulars on this subject, but we must content ourselves at present with simply referring thus briefly to general results.

The love of reading good authors is a noble passion; but it is to be regretted that it should have the effect of inducing any one to steal. True, that a work is stolen is no evidence that the motive of stealing was love for the good thoughts which it contains; nay, an illiterate person who cared nothing for the contents of a book would be much more likely to steal it—his object being to sell it for money—than the most inveterate bibliophile. Still, it is one of the reproaches always cast on the learned, that some of their number have not scrupled to purloin a good book when they could not procure it by honest means. We have been led to these remarks by a passage in the Report of the Harvard Committee, which is as follows:

"He (the Librarian) reports the case of one person whom he caught in the act of purloining a book, and makes ominous insinuations as to the honesty of another person. These surreptitious borrowers are the pests of public libraries; but their number would be very small, if they were publicly exposed, and made to suffer the penalty of their moral and penal offence. The wrong they do is not so much in the act itself, as in casting suspicion on honest readers, and depriving them of that free access to the books which their studies demand."

None will deny the truth of these observations. But it seems to us that the party caught in the act ought to have been exposed. If very poor, and at the same time very fond of books, his poverty might be regarded as an extenuating circumstance in his case. If he ought not to be exposed to public shame on this ground, it seems to us that it is the only instance in which it would be proper to shield him from the legitimate consequences of his crime. We like to see the libraries of colleges enlarged from time to time, and therefore take pleasure in transcribing the following extract:

"The accessions to the library during the past year have been 5,150 volumes, 3,546 pamphlets, and 62 maps of the Coast Survey. Of these, 1,730 volumes, 3,222 pamphlets, and all the maps have been donations. Many of the donations are of especial value, and they are noticed in detail in the report of the librarian. It is pleasant to observe that several of the most generous donors in previous years still maintain that rank in the report of the past year.

"The additions to the library by purchase have been 3,420 volumes and 324 pamphlets. These numbers do not express the actual value of the accessions, as some of them are very important and expensive works. The munificent gift of Mr. William Gray, of \$5,000 annually for five years, has enabled the library to procure many works of this class that could not otherwise have been obtained. Lists of books to be purchased have been prepared by the professors in the various departments of literature and science, and the funds for the purchase of books have been equitably allotted to these departments. A symmetry has thus been given to the growth of the library. The fifth and last year of Mr. Gray's annual donation will expire with the year 1863. The liberal fund of \$5,000, established by Mr. Stephen Salisbury, for supplying books in the Greek and Latin departments, had been so freely used of late, in supplying important deficiencies, that the income has been allowed to accumulate."

But all colleges have not the means of making such extensive purchases as these; scarcely any new colleges have. And here we are reminded of the honor those do themselves who give liberal donations to colleges, for the purpose of establishing either professorships or scholarships. What nobler use could any man make of any money he has to spare than to bestow it in this way? No monument he could build with the same amount, however large, would be more lasting, or would shed more lustre on his memory. Several of the professorships of Harvard have been established in this way by the good philanthropic men whose names they bear, and will bear for ever. Even the library is sustained by such donations, as may be seen from the following additional extract:

"The available means for the increase of the library during the present academical year, ending July, 1863, are the income of the following funds:

Hollis	\$2,614 03
Shapleigh	3,776 03
Haven	2,569 24
Boyd	49 68
Ward	5,162 71
Salisbury	4,974 10
Bowditch	2,135 00

Total.....\$21,101 81

"To the income of these funds is to be added Mr. Gray's annual donation of \$5,000, and an unexpended balance from the same source of \$4,815.80. The subscription fund for the increase of the library, commenced in 1853, now amounts to \$6,489.35; but its income is not at present available for the purchase of books."

We have visited another college in Massachusetts, which, although young in years, bids fair to rival Old Harvard in the highest characteristics of an educational institution—we mean the College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Massachusetts, which was founded in 1843, by Rt. Rev. Dr. Fenwick, Bishop of Boston, and placed under the direction of the Jesuit Fathers. It was not, however, thus bestowed at random. The mere fact of being a Jesuit Father was not a sufficient qualification for a professorship, in the mind of the Bishop; who selected the best educated and best qualified to impart instruction to others, wherever he could get them. He had perception and understanding enough to know that it was particularly necessary to be thus careful and discriminating in undertaking to establish a first-class college in the most enlightened State of the United States. The same course has been pursued to the present day, whenever a new professor has had to be appointed. This will sufficiently account for the remarkable progress made by the institution. Massachusetts has often been censured, and sometimes with too much reason, for sectarian prejudice; but when she erred most in this respect she made an exception in favor of Holy Cross College, which, to her credit be it mentioned, she has always respected as an institution of *learning* worthy of the name. It is a sufficient proof of this respect that the Governor of the State is in the habit of attending the commencements of the College. Nor did he absent himself from the last, as may be seen from the following extract, which we take from the report of the *Boston Post*:

"His Excellency Governor Andrew was present, with several of his staff. It was the Governor who distributed the diplomas to the graduates; also the crosses of honor, and the premiums to the successful competitors, addressing kind and encouraging words to each as he gracefully suspended the crosses from their necks. At the close of the exercises, his Excellency made a brief but appropriate address, thanking the students for the proficiency they had displayed, and encouraging them to still more creditable efforts in the future; at the same time paying a well-deserved tribute to the institution, *in the name of the state*, for the 'good fruit' which is the truest criterion of excellence."

Several of the original essays read by the students possessed merit of a high order. The subjects best treated were, "Trees—Their Beauty and Significance," "How much Poetry owes to Art and Industry," and "Cardinal Ximenes as a Patron of Literature." More attention is paid to philosophy and rhetoric at the Holy Cross than at any other Jesuit College with which we are acquainted; and the students of each speak the language of Cicero with a degree of facility and purity not often attained at the present day, even in the best colleges of the Old World. But in examining the library, those who have seen some of the best libraries connected with similar institutions in Europe, might easily forget, for the time being, that they were in Worcester, Massachusetts, and not in one of those European cities most distinguished for their educational establishments. In point of extent, this comparison would not be just. The number of volumes in the Worcester libra-

ry, though quite considerable, is not large compared to that in a college library in Europe; but be it remembered that the libraries in the city of Paris alone contain more volumes than all the libraries in the United States put together. In the department of the Greek and Latin Classics, especially in that portion of it which contains the writings of the Fathers of the Church and of the Jesuits, the library of the Holy Cross is surpassed by few even in Europe, and we believe only by one on this continent.

In turning from a Jesuit college in Massachusetts to the educational institutions of New York, we are reminded that there is a Jesuit college in the latter state, also. There are two or three, we believe; but we will refer only to one, for the reason that we are not sufficiently informed in regard to the rest, to be able to form any accurate or fair estimate of their character. St. Xavier's College in Fifteenth Street, in this city, we know but too well, for we have visited it on several occasions, and attended more than one of its commencements. Our friendly disposition towards educational institutions, combined with the high reputation as educators of the Jesuits of the olden time, led us to form an erroneous opinion of St. Xavier's, on our first brief visit. The fact is, that we accepted the statements of one of the Father professors without making any effort to test their truth. No doubt the gentleman alluded to believed that the institution deserved all he said in its praise; although it occurred to us at the time, that he was but a poor specimen of a Jesuit educator. At all events, we soon saw reason to alter our opinion of St. Xavier's College. The college buildings are indeed very fine; well calculated for an educational institution. Its library, though not large, contains a goodly number of volumes, and includes some excellent works. Nor do the students labor under much inconvenience for play-grounds, or means of amusement and recreation in the open air.

But this is all we can say in favor of St. Xavier's. We do not wish to make any comment here on what we were permitted to see behind the scenes. By this, however, we do not mean to charge the Fathers with any immoral conduct, further than it may be immoral on their part to undertake to teach others what they do not understand themselves. At no other institution known to us are such elaborate preparations made for the annual commencement, as at the St. Xavier's; but so far as we have seen, or are aware, no examinations of the students are by visitors permitted. The commencement exercises consist of an exhibition; but what is this an exhibition of? No doubt it is designed to be an exhibition of learning, culture, talent, &c.; but it sometimes puzzles even Mr. Barnum to exhibit things that have no existence. It certainly shows neither learning nor talent to get up on a platform and declaim, as if in a fury, a long rigmarole got by rote; although we would not at all undervalue the practice of declaiming in

public as a means of improving the intonation and other qualities of the voice. But something more than this should be done, in order to satisfy parents and guardians that they are getting the worth of their money. The presence of Archbishop Hughes, and one or two others of less note, imparted dignity to the last exhibition as long as they remained; but in glancing over the large hall in which it was held, it was easy to see that nine-tenths of the audience belonged to the lower order of the Irish; the servant-maids being decidedly the most appreciative, as well as the most numerous part. This, indeed, might have been inferred without a glance at all, from the large proportion of the declamations devoted to the most fulsome praise of Ireland. The design of these bombastic eulogies would not, perhaps, be so obvious, if the professors were Irishmen themselves; but there is no reason why Canadian and Dutch professors should have such great admiration for the Irish, or any other people, except they had some motive for it. And here we come to the secret of the qualifications, or rather the want of qualifications, above referred to. It is a well-known characteristic of the Irish to be ambitious to give their children the best education in their power. This is true even of the humblest class, who of course cannot tell whether any institution is good or bad, further than they can judge by its external appearances.

Accordingly, the buildings of St. Xavier's are, as we have said, of quite a respectable order; indeed, they are *imposing* in more than one sense. But, for the reason alluded to, it seems it was not deemed necessary, when the institution was founded, that the professors should be of as high a "finish" as the architecture. Recently, however, this has proved to be a mistake; and we are told that it will be rectified as soon as possible—a fact which may serve to explain the following passages which we extract from one of the most respectable and most liberal journals in this city:—"The prospects of this institution are, perhaps, somewhat improved. We see that its late rector, Rev. J. Durthaller, has been removed to Buffalo, a latitude for which the gentleman's talents and scholarship are supposed to be better suited than for that of New York. We learn that the Rev. Mr. Berthelet, a professor belonging to the same institution, goes some hundred miles farther to the west. It is believed that had these changes been made two or three years ago, the cause of education would have been benefited in Fifteenth Street, if not 'out west.' But Mr. Berthelet is the son of a wealthy Canadian gentleman, who is able and willing to pay for the position of Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, especially when the professor is also made treasurer."

Those who know most about the institution assure us that the two changes referred to in this extract would be quite sufficient; that

all the other professors are well qualified for the positions they hold; and we have no reason to doubt the fact. Even the Rev. Mr. Berthelet may know a good deal about mathematics, although he seemed to us to know so little about "the humanities," that he reminded us of a certain line in the *Iliad*, which we quote below.* We give here only a Latin version, because our respect for a fraternity who have done so much for the cause of education, to whom he belongs, renders us unwilling to apply opprobrious terms even to a subordinate member who has no such scruples himself, his early education having been neglected.

"Hou! impudentia indute lueri-studiose

Quomodo aliquis tibi promptus mandatis obsequatur inter Achivos," &c.

Since change of climate and of scenery has been known to prove as beneficial to the mind as to the body, may we not hope that the professors will improve as much as the institution they leave behind? We confess that this hope would be much greater than it is if, instead of sending the gentlemen mentioned to the West, they were sent as far North as Worcester, Massachusetts. Nay, if they spent five years at the College of the Holy Cross, and could show that they made the best of their time, we should have no objection to receive them back again in New York; but on the contrary, would vote for their being reinstalled in the positions which they lately occupied at St. Xavier's.

The best of the New York City institutions is undoubtedly the University of New York. This estimate of it has become more and more general within the last three years. Indeed, it enjoyed a high reputation from the outset; but its character has been greatly improved under the auspices of its present accomplished Chancellor. Several of its professors have a European fame. In proof of this, suffice it to mention Prof. J. W. Draper, M.D., LL.D., author of "Treatise on Human Physiology," &c., and Prof. Vincenzo Botta. But the best evidence of its efficiency is to be found in the superior scholarship of its students, many of whom are distinguished for their high attainments both in the languages and in the sciences. The university makes no parade of its work. Its catalogue is one of the slenderest of all the similar pamphlets now on our table. We do not mean as to the number of its students, for in this respect it is the reverse of slender, as may be seen from the following general summary:

"Preparatory Department.....	90
Collegiate Department.....	115
School of Medicine.....	186
School of Civil Engineering.....	9
School of Art.....	12
School of Analytical and Practical Chemistry.....	6
School of Law.....	70
Total.....	488"

* ὦ μοι, ἀναιδέην ἱππιμένε, κερδαλέοφρον,
πῶς τίς τοι πρόφρων ἔπει πείσεται Ἀχαιῶν.

Il., lib. 1, 119-50.

But in general, it is those that do most good who make the fewest "fair speeches and fine promises," and *vice versâ*. More than once we have been present at some of the recitations at the University—always *incognito*, and on every occasion we have heard and seen much to impress us with a deep sense of the thoroughness of the institution. There being none in the Catalogue of the University of that self-laudatory species of literature which often swells similar pamphlets to such portly dimensions, we could give no long extracts, were we even disposed to do so. We transcribe one passage, but it is of a different kind from that alluded to; although it occupies little space, it means a good deal, and its meaning is salutary.

"Habitual indolence and inattention to study will be regarded as an offence against the laws and the spirit of the institution, and will be made the subject of such discipline as the faculty may deem expedient.

"Any student who frequents billiard-rooms, taverns, or other places of corrupting influence, will not be allowed to remain a member of the University.

"All instances of absence from the Chapel and recitation, or tardy attendance upon the same, unless explained by a note from the parent or guardian, or otherwise satisfactorily accounted for to the officiating Professor, will be communicated to the parent or guardian, and will be subject to discipline. No student will be permitted to leave the city during term-time, unless a request to that effect be made by his parent or guardian."—P. 34.

It is always interesting to attend the commencement of the University; and it is pretty generally attended accordingly by all within reach of it, who take any interest in the progress of collegiate education, and are capable of appreciating the proficiency made by the students during the last term.

We are sorry that we cannot speak in similar terms of Columbia College. We had hoped that this institution, too, would soon be worthy of the Empire City. For a time, indeed, and not long since, it seemed disposed to awaken from the torpor in which it had lain for a quarter of a century; and no sooner did any such sign of new life appear than we endeavored to do it full justice, as our readers may remember. But unfortunately it was of brief duration, if it was not altogether an illusion. If the faculty were disposed a year ago to cast off their slumber, they seem to have entirely changed their mind and gone to sleep again.

Were we to judge by the size and weight of the "One Hundred and Ninth Annual Catalogue," now before us, we should, however, come to a different conclusion. It is three times as large as the Catalogue of the University; that is, it contains three times as much "reading matter," though not half as much thought; and, it is painful to add, that such thoughts as it contains have seldom the advantage of being expressed in grammatical language. We are told that the Chancellor was once an editor of a weekly paper, but our informant adds, excusingly, that the journal which he conducted did not live long enough to afford sufficient practice in orthography and punctuation, not to mention syntax, prosody, &c. Be this as it may, we should like to see the Catalogue of old Columbia gotten up in much

more respectable style in a literary point of view than that now before us. In order to enable our readers to judge for themselves as to whether we do injustice to the editor of the pamphlet, or not, we will extract one or two passages as specimens. All the different departments are praised in a style which seems to us too suggestive of Barnum. There is scarcely a page we open in which we do not find illustrations of this. Thus one of the Professors is lauded, as follows:

"Dr. Torrey has presented to Columbia College his *immense* Herbarium, the fruit of *forty years' assiduous labor*, together with his *valuable* Botanical Library. The Herbarium is *especially rich* in North American plants, as it contains *full sets of nearly all the collections* made by the *numerous* exploring expeditions of the United States Government. * * The Trustees having provided Dr. Torrey with a residence in the College buildings, and ample accommodation for his Herbarium and Library, he will be able to prosecute this important branch of science under more favorable circumstances than he has hitherto enjoyed."—Pp. 98-9.

This is no peculiar favor to Dr. Torrey; otherwise might we might have passed it over; but each Professor receives a similar eulogy; and sometimes even his assistants are shown to be distinguished in some way from those occupying similar positions in other institutions. The following will serve as an instance of the latter kind:

"The Department of Chemistry is under the direction of Professor Charles A. Joy, Ph. D. Mr. Maurice Perkins, *late of the Laboratories of Heidelberg and Göttingen*, assists in the practical exercises of the Laboratory."—P. 111.

A European tailor opening a shop in Broadway might be excused for announcing himself as late of London or Paris. But even the knight of the scissors would be likely to be laughed at if he announced himself as late of London *and* Paris. Did Mr. Perkins belong to *both* laboratories *at once*? or did he exchange one for the other? Again, what was his position in each? If these little queries were correctly answered, then we should be the better able to appreciate the value of the fact that one of the assistants of Prof. Joy is "*late of the Laboratories of Heidelberg and Göttingen.*" We find no fault, however, with Mr. Perkins; he may be one of the best chemists now living for aught we know to the contrary, for we had never heard of the gentleman before. It is not of him or his pretensions we complain; but of the tailor-like style in which he is introduced to the patrons of Columbia College. But this is by no means all we are told about the laboratory. We extract another specimen:

"The Laboratory will be open to its *special students* from the first of November to the first of June, every week-day, except Saturday, from 9 A. M. until *dusk*, at a charge of *not to exceed \$300 a year*, payable semi-annually in advance."—P. 114.

We trust the "*special students*" are taught somewhat better English than this. Perhaps it does very well to say "*from 9 A. M. until dusk*;" but suppose it became dusk at 10 A. M.—one hour after the laboratory was opened—as it often has during an eclipse of the sun—what then? Nay, without any eclipse at all, it would be the duty of the janitor, according to this rule, to turn out every student as soon as he saw that it was "*somewhat dark*," "*darkish*," "*or tending to*

darkness or blackness," since the word is defined by these terms by every respectable lexicographer, from Dr. Johnson to Dr. Worcester. But "from 9 A. M. to dusk" is a respectable phraseology for a college Professor to make use of in addressing his patrons, compared to the following part of the same sentence, in which we are told that "*of not to exceed \$300 a year*" is the charge. Another rule, given on the same page, reads as follows:

"Undergraduates may attend in the Laboratory for instruction and practice in Analytical Chemistry, *for the space each day of not exceeding two hours*, upon payment of a fee proportional to the time devoted to the study."—P. 116.

Who can tell the extent of "the space not exceeding two hours?" Will any tyro in English grammar tell us whether it is right or wrong to prefix the *definite* article to an *indefinite* period, as it is here? It seems to us that if the lecturer on chemistry does not understand that science better than the compiler of the pamphlet before us understands the English language, the amount of "fee proportional to the time" to which he is entitled is but very small. The reader who has given us his attention thus far will be able to appreciate the following announcement:

"The latter half of the year is devoted to a critical study of an English Classic, *treated in the same manner as an Ancient Classic is treated by a Professor of Ancient Languages*, and to Versification as an Exercise in the Vocabulary and *niceties of the English language*."—P. 100.

We are not at all surprised, from the style of this pamphlet, that the English is "treated" as a dead language at Columbia College. As to the "*niceties of the English language*," as taught at that venerable institution, we fear, judging from the specimens we have seen and heard, that the best judges would rather call them "the nastinesses of the English language." Still, let none get more blame than they deserve. It is but justice to Chancellor King to say that we have been assured that the grammar of the catalogue would have been a great deal better than it is, or, rather, not so bad, had not that good-natured functionary been engaged for months in sitting almost daily for the portrait, by Mr. Wenzler, which appeared in the last exhibition of our Academy of Design, as No. 184, near Herriek's portrait of a horse, No. 192. The same apology has been made for certain blunders and drawbacks observed at the last commencement of Columbia College. Some may think that it would have been more creditable for the Chancellor to see that his catalogue was written in correct English, and to take care that the students who were ambitious to obtain degrees should make some decent effort to merit the distinction, than to occupy his valuable time in sitting for a picture, which, after all, is as unlike President King—whom it was evidently the design of the artist to flatter—as it is unlike the Apollo Belvedere. The truth is that, seeing that there was a portrait of Chancellor Ferris at the previous exhibition, he thought it but right that he should

have a portrait too. And who would blame him for wishing to be as distinguished as his neighbors? But if Chancellor Ferris was induced to sit for his portrait, he was not the less careful on this account to furnish a catalogue which had, at least, the merit of being written in correct English; and the same remark will apply to his attention to the progress of the students. Could we only have said the same of Chancellor King we should have been among the first to admire all that it is possible for any one of a cultivated taste to admire in his portrait. As it is, we hope he will do better in future, and that Columbia College will awaken in earnest from the lethargy by which it has been so long oppressed; although we confess that we are not very sanguine as to either result.

Our readers are so well acquainted with the character of Manhattan College that we need hardly refer to it here. We may observe, however, that the examinations at its last commencement transcended the expectations of the most sanguine of its patrons and friends. In the sciences especially, the higher classes acquitted themselves with great credit; and it is but seldom we have heard students of the sophomore class translate difficult passages in Greek or Latin with more facility and accuracy than those of Manhattan College. The examinations continued for three days, and so thoroughly was the work done in each class the first and second days, that several of the exercises had to be cut short the third day. We cannot give the reader a more correct idea of the judicious variety and importance of the exercises than by copying the programme for the two first days. This we do all the more cheerfully because we have no copy before us of the Annual Catalogue, from which we could give extracts containing more definite information:

SATURDAY, JULY 11th, 1863.

Music.....	College Band.
Declamation.....	Henry Hughes, James Reid.
History—Sacred.....	Second Class.
" Priere d'une Vierge"—Piano.....	Paul Bourgeois.
The French Revolution.....	Pedro Rafael.
Arithmetic—Intellectual and Practical.....	Second Class.
March, from "I Puritani".....	Orchestra.
Declamation.....	William Dordlinger, Peter French.
Latin—Historia Sacra.....	Second Division.
The Influence of Music.....	Edward Johnson.
Tyrollese Song—Solo, Piano accompaniment.....	R. Buckley, J. Lyons.
Geometry—Plane; Book I.....	Second Class.
Polonaise—Violin.....	Filipe Yeregovien.
Music.....	College Band.
Algebra—Elementary.....	Second Class.
" Knowledge is Power".....	Edmund Mitchell.
Galop, from the Opera of "Guillaume Tell".....	Orchestra.
Geometry—Plane, Solid, and Spherical.....	Second Division.
Declamation.....	E. O. Glover, John Lyons.
Morceau, from "Wallerstein"—Piano.....	Pedro Rafael.
Grand Chorus—Rossini.....	Choir and Orchestra.

MONDAY, JULY 13th, 1863.

Music.....	College Band.
Declamation.....	C. E. Rafael, David O'Neil.

History—England.....	First Class.
Overture—Piano.....	Charles Hannan, Pedro Rafael.
"The Wrongs of the Indian".....	John Kean.
Natural Philosophy.....	First Class.
"The Likeness of my Mother"—Solo, Violin Accomp.....	Thomas Lynch,
Declamation.....	Filipe Yeregovén.
Greek—Jacob's Reader, Testament.....	John Doyle, Burdett Mulchinock.
Career of James II.....	First Division.
Duet, from the Opera of "Lucia de Lammermoor".....	R. O. Glover.
Trigonometry—Plane and Spherical.....	Enrique and Pedro Rafael.
Potpourri.....	Second Division, First Class.
Latin—Virgil's <i>Æneid</i> , two books; Arnold's Latin Composition.....	Orchestra.
Declamation.....	First Division.
Variations—Violin.....	P. McClancy.
Calculus—Diff.; Analytical Geometry.....	Filipe Yeregovén.
Mathematics.....	First Division.
Grand Chorus—Solos.....	John Lyons.
Music.....	Richard Buckley, John Kean, John Lyons.
	College Band.

Several of the essays whose titles are given in the above programme evinced a high degree of culture and ability, and elicited the applause of the audience. The premiums bestowed on meritorious students consisted of valuable books, of which the number distributed would make quite a handsome library. Several members of the higher classes got as much as a dozen standard works each, for their proficiency in various studies. No intelligent person who witnessed the distribution had any doubt of the judiciousness of such premiums, or of their superiority to any other kind—when so liberally given—as a means of stimulating the tardy and careless, and of encouraging the studious and thoughtful to still more earnest efforts. This fact was appropriately alluded to by the Rev. Dr. Starrs, in the course of a very excellent address which he delivered to the students at the close of the exercises, and in which he spoke in the highest terms of the thoroughness and efficiency of Manhattan College, although well aware of the jealousy felt towards it by at least one other Catholic institution of New York, for those very qualities, as well as for that Christian-like liberality which has secured it the patronage of liberal Protestants, as well as Catholics, without in any manner compromising the duties of the professors as a religious order.

For some reason or other, the philosophy of which we may discuss at another time, our fashionable schools for young ladies only succeed in very few instances, whether we call them Colleges, Universities, Seminaries, or Institutes. We dislike very much to say that the majority are shams that never have any just claim to any of those titles, although often more extensively patronized than those of a different character. There are others which do very well for a time—employing competent teachers, male and female, and performing their duties in general in a conscientious and efficient manner. But after they have gained a reputation in this way they think they can lessen their expenses by employing teachers of an inferior grade, and at the same time maintain the character acquired by the opposite course. They

soon find their mistake, however; and yet they affect to be astonished that those who entertained a high opinion of them when they deserved it now entertain a very low opinion of them, when they deserve that still more. In other words, there are those of our enterprising principals of ladies' schools who regard it as a most villainous inconsistency to pretend that the teaching done this year by incompetent, cheap professors, is not as good as that done last year by competent professors, who, although they got twice as large salaries as their successors, were not dear, after all, but, in fact, would have been the cheapest in the long run. We do not, however, apply these observations to any particular schools. All we mean by them is, that those desiring to maintain the reputation of their schools must do so by honest, persevering effort; not by any cheap plan, further than that cheapness has reference to competence and ability. Even then it is not wise to reduce the salary of the competent, faithful worker; for in teaching, as well as in other kinds of business, "the laborer is worthy of his hire;" and there are but few who have the same courage and resolution to do this month for fifty dollars what they did last month for a hundred dollars.

In the hasty glance which we have been able to take at the pile of catalogues of young ladies' colleges, seminaries, &c., on our table, we find two that contain some interesting peculiarities, and are, at the same time, remarkably like each other. We mean the "Third Annual Catalogue of the Hillsborough Female College, Hillsborough, Ohio," and the "Circular and Catalogue of the Packer Institute, with the Annual Commencement Exercises, July 1, 1862." These are really curiosities in their way. The former, especially, would be worthy of a place even in Barnum's Museum; although it would hardly attract more attention than the latter during the national baby-show. We have never been at Hillsborough, Ohio; we do not know one of the professors, male or female. For aught we know, they are all very worthy and very learned people. All we want to say of them is, that their Catalogue embraces some queer specimens of English belles-lettres.

After a full and particular account of the Board of Instruction, Board of Trustees, Freshman Class, Sophomore Class, Graduating Class, Course of Studies, &c., &c., we are presented with an elaborate and minute description of the college buildings from garret to cellar. Even the young ladies' dormitories and wardrobes, and all the curious apparatus pertaining to each, are described with a minuteness of detail that would do credit to an auctioneer's clerk. There is so much of the ludicrous in the whole affair, that notwithstanding the enormous length of the following extract, we make no apology for copying it:

"*The Dormitory.*—Let us pause a moment to describe it. Its extreme length is

94 feet. Width at north end 45 feet, at south end 25 feet. *Twenty feet at this end are taken off for the bath-room.* Height of the ceiling 12 feet, capacity nearly forty thousand cubic feet, *holding about two hundred and forty-five thousand gallons of air.* If we allow three thousand two hundred and forty gallons of air for one person twenty-four hours, (a liberal allowance,) there would be enough in this room for seventy-five persons to breathe *twenty-four* hours, or two hundred and twenty-five persons for *eight* hours, the time the room is occupied for sleeping. It contains enough of air for this number of persons, if no particle of fresh air could be admitted from without. What shall we say, then, when we look around and count eighteen windows, each eight and a half feet high and three and a half feet wide, each one of which must admit a considerable quantity of air when closed, and when the sash is raised or lowered may admit any quantity desired? Shall we say that this bedroom is not ventilated? Is there one in the State that has a purer atmosphere? *The door is generally left open at night, which gives the benefit of all the air in the hall; but without this, the room itself, after being ventilated all day, contains three times as much pure air as is needed for seventy-five persons during the night, and this is the largest number we ever expect to put into it.* There are now sixty-six single bedsteads with high posts and curtains around, where each young lady can be alone to dress or undress, or to pray. But let us proceed to

"*The Lavatory*, the door of which is a few steps from the door of the Dormitory. Here the ladies go, as soon as they rise, to wash and adjust their toilet. Around the whole room extends a reservoir, lined with lead, and large enough to hold two hundred gallons of water. The room is divided by partitions into twenty apartments, in each one of which is a faucet to draw water, and a trough passing round the room to carry off waste water to the drain. In each little room is a mirror and a drawer for combs, tooth-brushes, &c. There is apparatus in the room for warming water to take a bath on *Saturday*, or oftener if desired, and a cold bath can be taken at any time. Different persons may occupy the same apartment in succession, but there is a separate wash-basin for each one. Water is supplied to the bath-room by a forcing-pump in the cellar, which draws it from a cistern outside of the house, and sends it to the room in the third story. A boy can pump enough in five minutes to last all day. By attaching a hose to the pipe that brings up the water, the upper floor might in a few minutes be flooded. Let us proceed a little to the west, ascend a few steps, and look into the

"*Wardrobe-Room.*—Here are 28 large closets extending round the whole room, and each one large enough to hold the clothes of two or three ladies—at least *such things* as they would wish to hang up. The trunks are placed in the middle of the room, and hold part of the clothing. To this room and the Lavatory the ladies have access at such times as are necessary, and they need not go to the bedroom *except to sleep or pray.*"—(Pp. 12, 13.)

If we had even space to spare, it would not be necessary to make any additions to the above. It would be equally superfluous to comment on such descriptions. Suffice it to observe, in passing, that it must be very pleasant for those who patronize Hillsborough College to know not only all the particulars about the dormitories, lavatories, and wardrobe-rooms of their daughters, but also the number of gallons of air which they may use in any given time; not to speak of the manner in which they hang up their things, pray, &c. We must not omit to transcribe the following announcement which is given under the head of "*Errata*:"

"The title, '*M. E. L.*,' should have been added to the names of Miss Mary Muntz and Miss Frances McReynolds, on page 4 of the Catalogue, under the head, '*Board of Instruction.*'"—(Page 21.)

Those unacquainted with female colleges may not be aware that the letters "*M. E. L.*" mean "*Mistress of English Literature.*" This must be distinguished from "*M. L. A.*," "*Mistress of the Liberal Arts,*" another degree conferred by the same institution.

Instead of verbal descriptions of the more interesting parts of the college buildings, like that quoted, we have diagrams of them in the

Catalogue of the Packer Institute, which fully inform the curious in such matters as to where the young ladies keep their clothes, where they wash, &c. The "Committees of Examination" deliver eulogies in that style of composition known as "fine writing." The "Report on Compositions" extends to eight pages. The nearest approach which it makes to criticism or truth may be seen from the following extract:

"We have marked but few errors of orthography, and those indicated carelessness rather than ignorance. It is gratifying to read *so many pages of good spelling, fair writing, and tolerably good punctuation.* But as *the Packer Institute has been so often commended for its attention to these matters*, in previous reports, we pass them by for the more serious and embarrassing task of passing judgment upon the relative excellence of the various compositions submitted to our criticism."—(P. 35.)

The address of the President of the graduating class is in a similar strain. The latter occupies six pages, the greater part of which is devoted, not to education, but to the war, or rather to a political harangue, such as one might expect to hear at a ward meeting from a third-rate politician. The fair students are initiated into the beauties of political partisanship, as follows:

"This is not only an interesting epoch in your lives, as graduates from the *Packer Collegiate Institute*; but you have reached a period in the history of our beloved country that is most eventful. Since the establishment of the Government of the United States, which has been productive of so many blessings to the American people, there has been no crisis like the present.

* * * * *

"Whatever other issues are involved in this great National struggle, one object avowed by those who rebel against the national authority, is distinctly stated.

"The secessionist does not hesitate to proclaim that slavery is the foundation—the 'corner-stone'—upon which he would erect a new government, and that he would substitute an Aristocratic for a Republican form.

"It has always been the proud boast of an American citizen, that the honors and titles, which, in other lands, wait on the accident of birth, are, in this, the reward of a meritorious life."—P. 63.

After the affairs of the nation have been disposed of in this fashion, the orator proceeds to elucidate the doctrine of "Woman's Rights." He points out to the young ladies the wonderful powers they possess over the pretended lords of creation, lest they might not be sharp-sighted enough themselves to make the discovery.

It is pleasant to turn from lucubrations of this kind to the "Eleventh Annual Catalogue and Circular of the Brooklyn Heights Seminary." In this there is no bombast, no boasting, no political tirade, no special pleading in favor of woman's rights; but a modest, plain statement of the objects of the institution, and a concise account without any flourish of the anniversary proceedings, which concludes with the names of the graduating class. One essay is given at the end, as an illustration of the degree of culture attained by the higher class; and none capable of judging will read this without bearing testimony to the high order of talent, as well as culture possessed by the authoress. Nor is that before us, the Catalogue for the present year. The latter we have not yet seen, although we attended the annual commencement in July last, and had the pleasure of taking part in the examinations. The

intelligence evinced by the ladies of the first class—the facility and total freedom from embarrassment—combined at the same time with that modest and gentle bearing, which, after all, is the highest ornament of the sex—with which they answered questions that might have puzzled the sophomores in some of our male colleges, afforded the best proof of their being under the guidance of an accomplished and thorough educator. As in all similar instances, the principal was not only willing, but anxious that the visitors should propose any questions they thought proper. This reminds us of a little incident which we will relate as briefly as possible. A visitor, who evidently regarded himself as a *savant* of no secondary order, asked one of the young ladies, which of several kinds of demonstration, which he mentioned, including mathematical demonstration, was the most convincing and satisfactory? She replied that, in her opinion, a demonstration founded on experience and analogy, the propositions of which are corroborated by various credible witnesses, was in general more satisfactory than a mathematical demonstration. It was in vain she proceeded to illustrate her view of the case, by remarking that, although she had never been in London or Paris, she had no doubt whatever, from all she had heard and read about both cities, that they really exist; whereas, she had seen many mathematical demonstrations, the truth involved in which was by no means so obvious.

These were not the exact words used; but they are substantially the same. The learned examiner shook his head. He was astonished that a lady so intelligent in other respects, should entertain so erroneous an opinion! He would ask, was there any sort of proof so infallible as mathematical demonstration? The principal, although he saw very well where the error lay, was too polite to decide against his guest in favor of his pupil. At this stage of the discussion, we ventured to observe that our own opinion on the subject coincided with that of the lady, and we gave such reasons as the following: that of the many systems invented by different astronomers for the purpose of explaining the succession of day and night and other phenomena on our planet, all have been regarded as mathematically demonstrated until proved to be erroneous. For more than a thousand years, the most eminent geometers regarded the geocentric system as placed beyond doubt by mathematical demonstration. Need we say that a similar opinion prevails at present in regard to the Copernican system; although some of the most learned of the scientific men of Germany have written elaborate works against it. We also took occasion to refer to the reply of Sir Isaac Newton, when asked a somewhat similar question. But all to no purpose; the examiner showed his learning and acumen in finding fault with the lady's off-hand reply to a question which he had evidently deliberated upon, though not very logically.

We now repeat here that the lady was right and her examiner wrong;

and we give the following additional reasons. Even in the works of Euclid, there are several propositions given as demonstrated, the truth of which is denied by the most eminent geometricians of modern times, including Sir Isaac Newton, Clavius, Des Cartes, Gregory, and Barrow. For example, Euclid has laid it down as an axiom, that lines which make with a third line the two interior angles less than two right angles, must meet, if produced, but has failed to demonstrate the fact. Dr. Horsely has attempted to rectify the error of Euclid, but he too has failed; the same may be said of Dr. Larnard and of Simpson, and yet the "demonstration" of each is held to be correct by a large number of students; although no two of those demonstrations are alike. Again, Euclid holds those solids to be equal which are contained by the same number of similar and equal plain figures; he has left us a "mathematical demonstration" of the proposition, and yet it can easily be shown that solids may be *unequal in any proportion, though contained by such plane lines*. One more example, and we are done. In the twenty-sixth proposition of the eleventh book of Euclid, it is proposed to make a solid angle equal to a given solid angle at a point in a given line. A demonstration follows the proposition; but it proves nothing. Several modern geometers have given other demonstrations of the same proposition, no two of which are alike; only one out of all is held to be correct; yet each has been studied by thousands of pupils as "mathematical demonstration." The curious reader may refer to the problem under consideration, but we venture to predict that however familiar he may be with the principles of geometry, he will study the best demonstration long enough before the truth it undertakes to prove becomes as clear to him as that there is really a city called Paris and another called London, although he has never seen either.

Of the several young ladies' seminaries of New York, only three or four seem to possess any vitality. What has become of the Abbott University, or whither it is gone we cannot tell, although we have frequently heard those inquiries made lately. We trust, at all events, that it has not ceased to exist; we should much rather learn that it has so far improved within the last year, that if it is not even yet a real university, it is a good reliable school for young ladies; and we are glad to inform its inquiring friends that we have heard nothing to the contrary. The Van Norman Institute used to be a highly respectable establishment; we hope it is so still; but lately we have heard nothing of it; we will therefore say nothing one way or other on the present occasion. The Rutgers Female Institute had labored under some difficulties for a time; but we are glad to know that it is once more becoming efficient and prosperous. The exercises at its last annual commencement were highly creditable both to teachers and students—sufficiently so to revive the former prestige of the institution, and

those who are acquainted with its history are aware that this is high praise. Another highly respectable New York establishment is the Ferris Female Institute. We know no seminary for young ladies that is of a higher grade, which indeed might have been inferred from the fact that it possesses the advantage of the supervision of a veteran educator like the Rev. Dr. Ferris, Chancellor of the University of New York. Having been favored with complimentary tickets to one of its courses of lectures last winter, we can bear testimony from personal knowledge to the superior facilities afforded the students for acquiring a thorough education.

If there be any other educational institution in the city which is equally worthy of public confidence and patronage with those we have commended, it is not intentionally its merits have been overlooked in these pages; for, although we sometimes deem it incumbent on us to pass censure, notwithstanding that we may seem harsh and unkind in doing so, it is our sincere wish and intention to advance the cause of education to the utmost of our ability.

ART. XI.—NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

EDUCATION AND SCIENCE.

Husband and Wife; or the Science of Human Development through Inherited Tendencies. By the author of the "Parent's Guide," &c. New York: Carleton. 1863.

We do not take up this volume for examination because it contains anything that is original, instructive, or entertaining, but because it illustrates a species of morality, or rather of immorality, which is becoming very prevalent, and which it is the duty of all who value the family compact to frown down. None have more sincere respect for the capabilities of the female intellect than we; but we have much higher respect for female modesty and delicacy. We will not say that without the latter qualities, to serve as a protection, female virtue cannot exist, although such has been the opinion of the wisest and most thoughtful of mankind. We prefer to think, or rather to hope, that there are women who are very indiscreet and imprudent in their language, who would be incapable of the conduct which such language would imply. We have no doubt but such is the case in the present instance. We have no idea of who the lady is who has compiled the book before us. All we know about her is what she tells us herself, namely, that she wrote a somewhat similar book some twenty years ago. She does not expressly tell us, so far as we remember,

that she is the mother of a large family, but such is the inference to which we are led by her observations in many parts of her new book.

It seems to us that our race would be very degenerate indeed if it became necessary for the ladies to take up their pens to instruct us in what our present author calls the "Science of Human Development"—in plain English, the science of getting as many or as few children as we wish. Nor does our author confine herself to giving information of this kind in such a shape that "he who runs may read," but she also teaches all who are not very stupid how they can transmit their best or worst characteristics to their offspring. When it is remembered that the wildest savages, or even the lower animals do not require much instruction on those points, the question naturally arises, does man become ignorant of the fundamental laws of his own being, in proportion as he progresses in civilization? But let us hear what our author has to say on the subject. Although she is abundantly explicit in the body of the work in discussing all that relates to the production of the little ones, knowing that there are many stupid persons in the world, she explains her explanations in an elaborate Introduction. The first piece of information with which she favors us is, that "*Women who bear so important a part in parentage should be the most clear-sighted students of Nature in these things. They know much more, from experience in maternity, than men can know in paternity—the nearest possible relation, before birth, is exclusively theirs,*" &c.—P. 12. This, of course, is very instructive; and it will be new to many—that is, there are doubtless a goodly number of persons in every civilized community who are not aware that the experiences and sensations of women are somewhat different from those of men in the interesting circumstances alluded to! Our author proceeds then to show "*the mother's power during the period of gestation,*" (*Ib.*) Why, if the mother only exercises a little care and skill, she can present her lord with a Cæsar, or a Napoleon, a Homer, or a Shakespeare, as easily as with an idiot or a clown; but the whole affair must be managed on phrenological principles. In speaking of those children who are not as they ought to be before their arrival in this world, our author asks the very pertinent and modest question, "*If the mother forsakes them before she gives them birth, what power can restore their lost faculties or deficient energy?*"—(P. 14.) What a valuable suggestion this will be to the young ladies who have just "finished" their education at our fashionable boarding-schools! But the ladies should teach others all they know on those interesting points. "Nature's most trusted agent," says our author, "in her highest designs for the race, every individual of her sex is under a solemn obligation to every less enlightened one, to bring her to a knowledge of the power with which she is clothed," &c.—(*Ib.*) When this is neglected it is evident that the thoughtless part of the sex will never have any adequate idea

of "Woman's Rights." There is, however, some consolation left, even for the latter class; if they have not had sufficient experience in the ordinary way, they may study what "pertains to the same phenomena among the lower animals."—(*ib.*) It is only because all these things are partly or wholly neglected, that we have such a large number of insane in proportion to our population—that is, our women do not, in a fearful number of instances, more than half perform the work of maternity. It may well seem incredible that a lady would give public expression to such ideas, but her words are as follows:

"The last census reports of the United States exhibit respectively in round numbers, twenty-four thousand insane, eighteen thousand idiotic, fourteen thousand deaf and dumb, and eleven thousand blind among us—a fearful army for a nation of less than thirty millions, claiming to be, all things considered, the most enlightened people on the earth. When we reflect that in all probability many thousand imbeciles, barely separated by a scarcely appreciable development from idiots, escaped numeration, we may well begin to inquire for the remedies of this fearful state of things; and call to their posts those whom nature has empowered to prevent such terrible evils. These are the mothers, the women of our nation: what they, in their *creative capacity*, have left undone for their offspring, the idiot-traiter, the criminal judge, or prison discipline, must do in their stead, for these victims of their ignorance or faithlessness."—P. 16.

It seems that the mothers of other nations—of the Hottentots and Ethiopians, for example—exercise their "creative capacity" more fully than ours, and hence it is that they need so few insane asylums compared to us. But we have not yet gone beyond our author's Introduction; the treatise proper, on "The Science of Human Development," (for "Husband and Wife" are mere catch terms,) opens with an elaborate puff of "The Parent's Guide," published twenty years ago, and with which every intelligent person is supposed to be acquainted. The lady shows us by a long extract, that even a score years ago she knew how to lecture the pretended lords of creation on the science of "perpetuating their own species," p. 18. The passage quoted concludes with the following words:

"The time is fast approaching when men will have to pay more attention to this subject; for a knowledge of phrenology, the science which tests such matters, is rapidly spreading; consequently the parent cannot hope much longer to receive the sympathy of society for the perverse conduct of his child—on the contrary, the child will be commiserated for having inherited active animal propensities, accompanied by deficient moral and reflective organs."

Had we given no extract but this, it would have sufficiently indicated the school of philosophers and moralists to which our author belongs. It matters little what page we turn to, we are pretty sure to find a *modest* suggestion or two; such for example, as the following:

"There are those who believe that the mother's power over the character of her offspring is almost omnipotent; hence they pay little attention to the father, and even assume that though he should be an invalid, an imbecile, or a debauchee, yet the mother can *make* hers a model child, physically, mentally, and morally. We would not underrate her power in any of these respects; *it is almost limitless*."—P. 21.

A little further on, we are told that "Both parents unite in *creating the embryo*; it is the reproduction of neither; but *if all conditions*

are favorable, it should be an improvement on both," (pp. 22-3.) A still more important piece of information, and at the same time more modest, if possible, is the following: "He who has lived most *in accordance with his whole complex nature—developing all his powers* in the highest harmony, is best fitted to bequeath a like harmonious organism to his offspring. But as there are two parents who bring this new life, these two must *assimilate and blend into one*, if they would *make it a pre-eminently more exalted being than themselves*," &c., (p. 24.) Not content with entering *in medias res* in this fashion, our author collects what is most indelicate in the writings of male authors, although it would be difficult to find anything more so than are her own suggestions in numerous instances; but we are very willing to believe that she does not mean to be vicious, but on the contrary, is disposed to do good. What the lady would have us learn from the following remark of Darwin, which she quotes, we do not pretend to understand: "I think," says Darwin, "there can be little doubt that use in our domestic animals strengthens and enlarges certain parts, and that disuse diminishes them, and that such modifications are inherited." —P. 163.

When our author thinks she has fully illustrated the "Science of Human Development," vulgarly called the science of getting babies, she proceeds to suggest how we can have as few children as we wish, if it does not suit our circumstances to have large families. To prove that this is right and proper, as well as feasible, she quotes several foreign authors, who have inculcated similar views; but she says nothing of the results of such suggestions as illustrated by the fearful extent to which infanticide prevails among the countrywomen of the authors alluded to. In accordance with the same doctrine, we are told that "there can be no true marriage except between those who are essentially equals."—(P. 84.) That is, if those who are married discover that they are not "essentially equal," they have a perfect right to seek "other affinities." As for female delicacy, it is but a vulgar superstition, according to our author; for "all truth which is good for man is good also for woman," &c., (p. 84;) which seems to confirm the opinion of Aristotle, that woman is but an *imperfect man*; although, according to the "science" of the work under consideration, she is not only equally perfect with man, but vastly his superior, especially in her "creative capacity!"

We have devoted far more space and time to the book than it is worth; but we have given our reasons for doing so. None but the most weak-minded will be influenced by such a book. If it had as many more appendices (and it has no fewer than *ten*) it could not be regarded as a respectable performance, or one that ought to be read by respectable women. There is nothing truly great or ennobling which the author would not render subservient to the indulgence of

those passions which we possess in common with the brute. Even education, except *before birth*, often, if not always, does more harm than good. "Healthy men," says our author, "with *great muscular powers* and hardly good sense, but illiterate and undisciplined in mind, have been *better workers in the world than our sickly scholars*."—(P. 180.) This is very appropriately followed by a puff of the "Movement Cure," and kindred "discoveries" and "sciences." In the appendices we have a little of everything, from the tobacco question down to the present war, and the attitude of England relative thereto; and all the author's favorites are quoted and praised as the salt of the earth.

Women who unsex themselves in this way, regard themselves as "strong-minded;" but the truth is, that they are weak-minded. They imagine that they recommend themselves to men by casting aside delicacy, and not only "o'erstepping the modesty of nature," but outraging it. A greater mistake they could not make. Even the libertine, if a person of any culture or refinement, is repelled rather than attracted by want of modesty in woman. In other words, woman disgusts rather than pleases, let her charms be what they may, when she indulges in language or gestures that are inconsistent with modesty. We make no such charge, however, against the author of this book. We are only sorry that she did not turn her attention to some more reputable and useful business than that of compiling a book which no publisher who had much regard for his reputation would set his imprint upon.

The Works of Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, &c., &c. Collected and edited by JAMES SPEDDING, M.A., ROBERT LESLIE ELLIS, M.A., and DOUGLAS BENTON HEATH, Barrister-at-Law, &c. Vols. V., VI., and VII. Boston: Taggard & Thompson. 1863.

Few, if any, of the readers of this journal need any testimony as to the instructive, interesting and valuable character of Bacon's writings. We have had several articles from time to time on the author of the "*Novum Organum*;" but they were not intended to convince any one that his works are of enduring value; for the reason that such a purpose would be superfluous. What we meant to do, was to show the wonderful influence of that one mind on the mode of thought, not only of his own countrymen, but of the whole European race, throughout the world—an influence which is as active to-day as it was two centuries ago. It is always an agreeable task, if task it may be called, to commune with the great thinkers of the past, and examine into the source of their greatness, after the lapse of a period when all the prejudices entertained against them, often only for the noble gifts which elevated them so far above ordinary authors, have passed away with their ashes.

But in examining the works of Bacon and contemplating their results, we learn a lesson which, if we would only remember it, would be more useful to us in dealing with our erring brethren than the most eloquent sermon ever preached. Nothing could teach us to be charitable and indulgent to the faults of others—especially to those of the gifted—more than the study of the life and writings of Bacon; since by them we are convinced that a man may be guilty not only of grievous errors, but of crimes, and still prove a benefactor to his race—a vastly greater benefactor than he who, perhaps conscientiously enough, would be the first to pass judgment upon him, expelling him beyond the pale of civilized society.

The admirers of Bacon should regard it as a privilege to have an opportunity of securing an edition of his works, at once so complete, so elegant, and we may truly add so cheap, as this, which is a *fac-simile* of the best English edition. The three volumes now before us embrace the most interesting of the author's philosophical writings, including his "Valerius Terminus," "Advancement of Learning," "Cogitationes de Natura Rerum," "Partis Instaurationis, Secunde Delineatio et Argumentum," &c., &c. An enterprise like this, on the part of the American publishers, should be liberally encouraged by all who take an interest in the development of the human mind, especially at a time when so many who would be sure to become subscribers are off at the war.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY AND TRAVELS.

The Capital of the Tycoon: A Narrative of a Three Years' Residence in Japan. By Sir RUTHERFORD ALCOCK, K.C.B., Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Japan. With Maps and numerous Illustrations. In Two Vols., 12mo. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1863.

Seldom have any two volumes of similar character or design afforded us more entertainment than these. It is due to the industry, candor, cosmopolitan spirit, and graphic powers of the author to say, that his work is decidedly the most attractive that has fallen into our hands during the last three months. We have been interested in turning over its pages in the cars and on the steamboat; in town and in country; and it has had a similar attraction for others to such an extent, that we can now speak of it only from memory; for the last obliging friend to whom we lent it has forgotten to return it!

It is not often, in modern times, that a Minister Plenipotentiary has made such good use of a three years' residence at a foreign capital as the author of this work has done. Indeed, he has scarcely overlooked any habit or custom, or any characteristic, social, religious, or political, which it was possible for a foreigner to obtain any infor-

mation upon. The wonder is, how he has been able to collect such a mass of facts. He could not have done so had he not had access to peculiar sources of information. Just when he arrived in Japan, the Japanese government was very well disposed towards England; and it continued its good wishes, at least in appearance, to that country for some two years afterwards. During this period our author evidently made the most of the confidence reposed in him, but, so far as we can see, without abusing it in any manner. He has not, however, confined himself to the facts obtained from official sources in addition to the results of his own observation; he has consulted the best works written on Japan, by Europeans, including Dutch, French, Germans, &c.; taking care to modify or contradict such statements in each as seemed to be either exaggerated, or altogether unfounded. He does this, however, without mentioning any names.

To the scientific student his observations throughout the work on the botany, ethnology, language, arts, sciences, &c., of Japan will be particularly acceptable; but we would direct attention especially to the Appendix for information in a condensed form, illustrated by statistics, on those various topics; although the copious alphabetical index to the present edition enables the reader to turn at a glance to whatever class of facts or events he takes most interest in. "The Capital of the Tycoon" has also the advantage of being fully illustrated with well-executed wood-cuts, which are not caricatures, as is too common in similar works, but truthful representations.

On the Historical Antiquity of the People of Egypt: their Vulgar Calendar, and the Epoch of its Introduction. By JOHANNES VON GUMPACH. London: Dulau & Co. 1863.

The student of ethnology, as well as of ancient history, will find much that is interesting in this essay; although it sheds but little additional light on the early history of Egypt. Its object is much more to show how long man has existed on the earth, than to make any very profound researches into the origin of any particular people. Not but the author is well acquainted with the labors of the most eminent Egyptologists. There has been so much excited discussion lately as to the antiquity of man, that M. Von Gumpach has conceived the idea of steering a middle course between the advocates of a very high antiquity and an antiquity comparatively recent. Thus, for example, Bunsen was of opinion that Adam and Eve were created 20,000 years B. C., and that nearly 11,000 years had elapsed after this before the first priest-king of Thebes commenced his reign. According to the author of the essay before us, upon the other hand, that event took place nearly two thousand years later; and the historical King, Menes, must have reigned during the earlier or later Gothic epochs; that is, between 2785 B. C. and 1325 B. C.—a period of nearly 1,500

years. This does not seem very precise as to time. The student of history not in the habit of exploring the remote or traditional past, will be apt to think that it is rather vague history which cannot tell at about what particular period of fifteen centuries and a half a particular king reigned. But is it not much honester to speak vaguely than to affect a definitiveness which does not exist? In other words, is it not better to admit that the question is surrounded with difficulties, if not actually beyond the reach of human intelligence, than to pretend that its solution is as much within the reach of the investigator as a problem in algebra? But whether our author is right or wrong in his figures, none will deny that his reasoning is excellent. His arguments are not only logical and persuasive, but they contain suggestions relative to the early races of mankind which possess a high value altogether independently of the historical facts sought to be established.

BELLES LETTRES.

Philip Van Artevelde. A Dramatic Romance. In Two Parts. By HENRY TAYLOR. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1863.

Few will read "*A Dramatic Romance*" without wondering why it is so little known in America; although first published a quarter of a century ago. If any infer without reading it that it must have been almost as little known in England during the same period, the fact will only show either that they have not travelled, or if they have, that their society abroad must not have been of a very intelligent grade. But the English copy of which the volume before us is a transcript, is the sixth edition; a fact which would go far to prove by itself that the work has not only been well received in England, but that it has attained a degree of popularity not often vouchsafed to similar productions of the present day. The author is content to call it a romance; but it is really a fine historical poem; and it is replete with interest. It would afford us great pleasure to give an analysis of the piece; but it has reached us too late to render it possible that we could do more on the present occasion than give a cursory glance at its general character. We may remark, however, that the scene of the romance is laid sometimes at Ghent and sometimes at Bruges, or in its neighborhood, and that the time is towards the close of the fourteenth century. Those acquainted with the history of the Netherlands need not be informed that this is one of its most eventful and exciting epochs. The war of the rival cities of Ghent and Bruges, which lasted for several years, is one of the fiercest on record. The cause of the former city was espoused by the towns of Damme, Ypres, Courtray, Grammont, Peperinguen, and Messines, and that of Bruges by Ouderarde, Dendermonde Lisle, and Tournay.

Abundant materials are thus afforded for an historical drama; and it

must be admitted that they are turned to good account by Mr. Taylor. We must not close even so hurried a notice without extracting a passage or two for the gratification of those who may not have an opportunity of seeing the whole work. Thus Adriana, on seeing her lover approach, asks the opinion of Clara as to what answer she should give him, as she is one of those who have not the wit

"From such a sharp and waspish word as 'no'
To pluck the sting."

Clara, upon the other hand, has no such scruples. Arch, mischievous, and full of wit, she is ready to give any advice, or say almost anything, for fun's sake. Accordingly, when Adriana asks her what she should say, she replies:

"A colorable thing or two; as thus:
My lord, we women swim not with our hearts,
Nor yet our judgments, but the world's opinions;
And though I prize you dearly in my soul,
And think you of all excellence compounded,
Yet 't is a serious and unhappy thing
To hear you spoken of: for men protest
That you are cruel, cowardly, and cold,
Boastful, malicious; envious, spiteful, false,
A bull in ire, an ape in jealousy,
A wolf in greediness for blood."—(P. 35.)

Adriana asks is she to use no courtesies at all. Clara resumes:

* * * * *
"T is said that you are strangely ill to look at;
Your brow as bleak as winter, with a fringe
Of withered grass for hair, your nose oblique,
Pointing and slanting like a dial's hand,
They say the fish you had your eyes of laughed
To see how they were set, and that your mouth
Grows daily wider, bandying of big words."—(P. 36.)

The dialogue between Clara and the Page, in the second scene of the first act, is an excellent specimen of playful humor, but it is too long for our present space. Of a different character is the dialogue between Artevelde and Father John, in scene the fifth of the same act. The strange preference shown by the ladies for those engaged in the work of slaughter is thus happily hit off:

ARTEVELDE.

"Now, Father, mark you that; hearts soft as wax
These damsels would be thought to bear about,
Yet ever is the bloodiest knight the best!

FATHER JOHN.

It is most true. Full many a dame I've known
Who'd faint and sicken at the sight of blood,
And shriek and wring her hands and rend her hair
To see her lord brought wounded to the door;
And many a one I've known to pine with dread
Of such mishap or worse,—lie down in fear,
The nightmare sole sad partner of her bed,
Rise up in horror to recount bad dreams
And seek to witches to interpret them,—
This oft I've known, but never knew I one
Who'd be content her lord should live at home
In love and Christian charity and peace.

ARTEVELDE.

And wherefore so? Because the women's heaven
Is vanity, and that is over all.
What 's truest still finds favor in their eyes;
What 's noisiest keeps the entrance of their ears.
The noise and blaze of arms enchants them most;
Wit, too, and wisdom, that 's admired of all,
They can admire,—the glory, not the thing.”—(Pp. 58, 59.)

But we must close abruptly; not, however, without advising all who derive pleasure from startling incidents, graphically and agreeably related, lifelike portraiture of character and deep and tender pathos, alternating with lively sallies of wit—all tending to make us abhor vice and love virtue for its own sake—to read “Philip Van Artevelde.” As to the style in which the book is gotten up, suffice it to say, that it is one of the “blue and gold” series, by which the Messrs. Ticknor & Fields have so much increased a popularity which, as long as we remember, has always been of the highest order.

Sybil Campbell; or, The Queen of the Isle. By Cousin MARY CARLETON.
New York: Frederick A. Brady. 1863.

It is not often that we take any notice of “sensation” novels, except to warn the pure and innocent against their vicious and demoralizing tendency. Nor would we have taken up this, had our attention not been called to it by a lady friend in whose taste and judgment we have confidence, and who assured us that the story is really as moral in tone as it is exciting in incident. No assurance would have been necessary to induce us to examine it, since such would be our duty had it come to us without any name, or with a name in which we had any confidence; but finding T. B. Peterson & Brothers on it in large black letters, we confess that we thought we had to do with some nasty abortion or other, of three or four years ago, now exhumed, rechristened, and represented as an entirely new work, and the best published for at least a quarter of a century.

Under this impression, we were looking about for the other drugs which Mr. Peterson generally announces with his sensation books—such, for instance, as that unfortunate “Balm of a Thousand Flowers,” which is said to have deprived so many innocent, well-meaning people of their hair, as his books deprived them of their taste, if not of their virtue. But here we found that the publisher is not Mr. T. B. Peterson, but Mr. F. A. Brady; the latter is the agent of the former, and hence the mistake, for which we beg pardon of all concerned; especially of Mr. Brady, whom, it is but fair to say, we have never known either to exhume or rechristen a bad book, or to do anything else of a similar character. To this we need only add, that we cheerfully admit that our lady friend was right—that “Sybil Campbell,” although not exactly the species of literature we admire, is an interesting story, the portraiture of which are in the main well

drawn and but slightly exaggerated; and which, if it does not do much good, can hardly do any harm. In short, it is one that we would recommend were we to recommend anything of the kind.

Helemar; or, The Fall of Montezuma: A Tragedy, in Five Acts. By ESTELLE ANNA LEWIS, [STELLA.] 1863.

We always take up a tragedy with some misgiving, while we admire the courage of the writer who dares to tread in the highest walk of poetic art. But this time, we confess, we have been agreeably disappointed. The author of *Records of the Heart* has produced one that has the ring of the true metal. "Helemar" possesses, in a high degree, two qualities essential to the success of a drama—poetry and *ſpectaculum*. Voltaire says that two lines of true poetry will do more for the success of a play than the greatest scenic effect that can be produced. This, however, is not strictly true. Many plays, which have failed on the stage for want of dramatic movement, are full of the highest flights of the muse. Both have their charm, and both must combine to produce a work of high art. They do so very happily in "Helemar."

The scene of this tragedy is laid in the city of Mexico, at the time of the conquest by Cortez. It commences with the entry of the Spaniards into the heathen capital, and concludes with the *Noche Triste*, or melancholy night, the title given by the Spaniards to that memorable and bloody night, when, overwhelmed by the foe, they attempted to make their exit from the city. Truth and fiction are skilfully blended in the poem, and supernatural machinery made to lend its happiest aids. The hero and heroine are chiefly drawn from the world of imagination. About twenty-three years before the conquest by Cortez, a sister of Montezuma and her family suddenly disappeared, and were heard of no more. This is made the basis of the plot. The husband, by order of Montezuma, is put to death, and the wife, with a male infant in her arms, thrown into the lake one stormy night. Guided by the light of the Gipsies' fire, on the borders of the lake, she succeeds in swimming to shore, and in making her way to their camp. She tells them her story while the thunder pauses to listen. Moved by compassion, they devise a plan by which her babe may be brought up, as a foundling, in the palace of Montezuma. They write on its brow *Helemar*, which means in their language "*take me in*," put it in a basket of flowers, and bear it to the palace. The mother assumes the name of Crone and the disguise of an old crazy witch and fortune-teller, by which means she wins the ear and tolerance of her superstitious brother, and thus is enabled to watch over her babe unsuspected.

The boy grows to manhood without the slightest knowledge of his

parentage, or who this old crazy fortune-teller may be, who is ever at his heels. In talent and moral elevation, he is far above his fellows. The witch, in her crazy way, has taught him the laws of Anahuac and the science of government. He is handsome, proud, cynical, envied. The light of a higher religion is dawning on his mental vision, and he goes to a mountain cave to indulge the dream, where he meets Lucifer, who advises him to usurp the crown of Montezuma. The witch, stimulated by revenge, is determined that her son shall wear the crown of her brother. The conquest aids her desire, and saves the killing of the king.

The Spaniards enter Mexico by the consent of Montezuma. He becomes, apparently, their willing prisoner. The throne is without a monarch—the kingdom without a head. The Aztecs, infuriated, elect Helemar their king, crown him, and march with him at their head upon the Spanish garrison. The character of Montezuma, the Indian king, is well portrayed. He stands before the mental eye wrapped in the misty mantle of superstition, pale, pensive, and despairing; hideous spirits croaking his doom in his ears, unpropitious omens floating before his startled vision. In Act I., Scene II., he says to his kinsman, the wise King of Tezcuco:

"Alas! I am forsaken of the gods!
And on the why the oracles are silent!
But yester, walking in the park, I heard
Noises that all the blood within me stirred,
And, lifting up mine eyes, beheld pale men,
In mystic armor, marching up the glen—
Transfixed and stark—congealed to ice my blood—
My hair erect upon my head, I stood,
Till face to face with me these spectral bands,
Pausing, let loose the lightnings from their hands—
Themselves, transforming into serpents dire,
Around me flung their panting folds of fire."

All new tidings of the strangers, every message sent by Cortez, only served to render him more superstitious and incompetent to protect his people against the invading foe. The gods are wroth, the oracles are silent, the hand of Destiny is on him. All resistance to her decrees is in vain. Like a helmless ship, he drifts at the mercy of the storm and the wave.

The counsels of the wise King of Tezcuco, in the same scene, are very forcibly given:

"Thou didst enact good laws—annul the bad ones—
Didst punish Vice—and Virtue didst reward—
Administer to hearts and souls diseased
Till the great mountain-winds caught up thy name,
And bore it to the sun where dwell thy sires,
Thou couldst not bear this great prosperity—
The voice of adulation turned thy head."

Few see themselves as well as others see them. The old soothsayer sums up the weaknesses of his royal master with great truthfulness, in the following lines:

"'Tis Destiny who rules, not Montezuma—
The sceptre's in the hands of Destiny—
The kingdom's in the hands of Destiny—
Destiny is the king, not Montezuma.
Dreams are his ministers—omens his guards."

In Act IV., Scene III., the language of Helemar, when led by Satan to the temple where six hundred noble Aztecs lie slain, rises to the highest dramatic energy. There is nothing in any modern drama which we can call to mind that surpasses it in depth of feeling and power of expression. It is the first of May, the fête-day of the war-god. The Aztecs apply to Alvarado for permission to celebrate it in the temple of the god. He grants the request on the ground that they will leave their arms at home. They consent, and on the day of the fête, six hundred, in their gala costumes and jewels, repair to the temple. While engaged in song and dance, the Spaniards, with Alvarado at their head, rush upon them, and kill every man. Helemar thus exclaims when the bloody scene breaks upon his view:

"Horror of horrors! O grim-visaged Horror!
That rising on my senses strik'st me dumb,
And leav'st me staggering on the brink of Death!
O Reason, keep thy throne! Judgment, thy seat!
O most untimely harvest! Glorious sheaves,
Unreaped gathered to Death's Granary!—
Burst—burst, big Heart—and let my great grief flow!
What instigated this foul, bloody murder?
This deed so red it scents the world with gore,
And sets all cannibals in earth a howling!
My Brothers—Anahuac's young Oaks—
The very nerves and sinews of the State,
Untimely felled—hewn down before their heads
Had glittered in the glory of the sun.
Ope, Earth! Gape, Hell! and swallow up the white man!
Are ye all dead, my Brothers—all so mute
Ye cannot tell me wherefore ye were slain?
Is there no lingering pulse—no throbbing heart—
No mouth wherein is breath enough for speech?
Awake! arise! to thirsty vengeance give
This thrice ten thousand hydra-headed fiend!"

We had marked several other passages, but want of space precludes us from inserting any more. To sum up in brief, the tragedy of "Helemar" is written with great power. The dramatic movement is good—the characters naturally and distinctly drawn—evincing throughout a thorough knowledge of the Thespian art. The unities are not strictly observed—nor could any historical drama, of high merit, be brought within their scope. No single scene in history holds within itself sufficient power and completeness to insure it a place on the stage. In subject, "Helemar" is according to the Greek rule. The scene, with one exception, lies in the city of Mexico. This exception, however, breaks the law of the unities. The time, instead of occupying three hours, extends over about one year.

"Helemar" will add much to the author's reputation, and prove an honor to the female literature of America. In subject and treatment it is similar to the *Alzire* of Voltaire, the *Cid* of Corneille, and the *Cromwell* of Victor Hugo; and is by no means unworthy of comparison with those great historical dramas.

The Jobsiad. A Grotesco-Comico-Heroic Poem, from the German of Dr. Carl Arnold Kortum. By CHARLES T. BROOKS, translator of "Faust," "Titan," &c., &c. 16mo, pp. 181. Philadelphia: Frederick Leypoldt. 1863.

It seems almost unaccountable that a work which had an effect in Germany somewhat similar to that produced in England by "Tom Jones," or rather by "Gulliver's Travels," (although it cannot be said to resemble either of those famous performances,) should have remained nearly a century without being translated into English, for it was first published in 1781. But the intelligent student of German literature can easily account for the delay. It has certainly not been caused by any want of appreciation of the work on the part of those capable of reading it in the original.

Even Carlyle, who has but little taste for the grotesque and ludicrous, would have translated the work a quarter of a century ago; but, familiar as he was with the German language, he despaired of being able to do justice to the peculiar idiomatic doggerel of Kortum. Coleridge, too, had serious thoughts about translating the same work; but was deterred from it by the same difficulties. According to Southey, he actually translated the first chapter before he had commenced his version of Schiller's "Wallenstein;" but was so much dissatisfied with his want of success, that he threw the manuscript into the fire.

This sufficiently accounts for the late day at which the "Jobsiad" makes its appearance in an English dress; and it will also remind the critic, that if there are defects in the version of Mr. Brooks, they should be treated with indulgence. While it cannot be said that he has done justice to the original, it is certainly true that he has transfused as much of the spirit of the author into the strange performance now before us, as the most sanguine could expect in view of the facts stated in regard to previous attempts on the part of eminent authors.

The volume is got up in tasteful style by the American publisher. It is illustrated in a manner quite in keeping with the quaint, humorous and whimsical character of the poem. No extract that we could make room for, would give any adequate idea of the work as a whole. In short, the "Jobsiad" must be read in its integrity, in order to be appreciated. Even the titles of a few of the chapters would almost afford sufficient evidence of this—such, for example, as the following: "Of the parents of our hero, and how he was born, and of a remarkable dream which his mother had; How the boy Hieronimus went to the Latin school, and how he did not learn much there; How Hieronimus took the post-wagon, and how he found therein a fair one with whom he fell in love, and who stole his watch; How Hieronimus now began to be clerical, and how he got a black dress and a peruke,

and how he preached for the first time in the pulpit, &c.; How Hieronimus entered into the service of a pious lady, who was a spiritual sister, and how he ran away from her," &c., &c. Several of these titles will remind the reader of the Martinus Scriblerus of Pope and Swift; and a similar thought will often recur during the perusal of the "Jobiad." In short, the work is one of the best of its kind in any language; it is certainly one of the most amusing performances to be found in the whole range of German literature; and it is surpassed in English literature only by Butler's "Hudibras."

The Ebony Idol. New York: D. APPLETON & Co.

We find no name on the title-page of this volume; nor has it any preface; nothing to indicate who the author is. But we would have examined it all the more readily for these very reasons had it fallen into our hands in time, for in nine cases out of ten, there is least merit where most fuss is made, and *vice versâ*. A friend, whose judgment we esteem, has called our attention to "The Ebony Idol," assuring us that we should find it worthy of perusal; and now that we have read it, we cheerfully admit that while our admiration of it is not quite so enthusiastic as his, we regard it as a work of considerable power.

By this, we mean much more, perhaps, than those who use stronger terms, for we wish to eschew language which has even the appearance of exaggeration. We might go on to say that the book is "intensely interesting," that it will "create a sensation," or "a new era in literature," in the approved fashion of the day; and in doing so, we should perhaps be nearer the truth than those who make most frequent use of those stereotyped phrases. At all events, we prefer to say in sober, earnest language, that the book before us combines a lively, well-sustained interest, with an excellent moral purpose—a purpose, too, which is well carried out. The inference from the title would be, that the book is one of the numerous brood which "Uncle Tom's Cabin" may be said to have engendered. Had such been the case, we would not have been the less willing to do its author justice; for we are no more anti-abolitionists than we are abolitionists. We have no wish to see any people in bondage; we would rather say with Sterne, "Disguise it as thou wilt, still, slavery, thou art a bitter draught." But nothing that we could say, nor all the books that could be written, could prevent the strong from oppressing the weak. Such was always the case, and always will be.

The author of this work appreciates the fact, and casts well-merited ridicule on the pretended philosophers, male and female, who, not content with seeking to lessen the Negro's chains, do much to defeat their own avowed object by proclaiming, in the plenitude of their

fanaticism, that he is not only equal, but superior to the White. The author proves to the satisfaction of all intelligent persons not blinded by prejudice, that those who pursue this course do the poor negroes vastly more harm than good, since they not only induce them to be careless of whatever position they hold, under the impression that their friends will take care of them, but also expose them to the violent resentment of that class of whites who feel themselves degraded by having to compete with them. Mr. Cary, the abolition parson, in "The Ebony Idol," half-hypocrite, half-fanatic and knave as he is, can hardly be said to be a caricature. We fear there are many persons in flesh and blood of whom he is but too true a type; and there are several other characters, male and female, in the same book, whose prototypes are easily found in real life.

The Triumphs of Duty; or, the Merchant Prince and his Heir. A Tale for the World. By the author of "Geraldine," "A Tale of Conscience," &c. Boston: Patrick Donahoe. 1863.

There is nothing particularly striking or brilliant in this story; but it is far above the average of novels of the present day in interest as well as literary merit. It is designed principally for Catholics; although the author has evidently had an eye to such Protestants as have begun to ask themselves whether, after all, they might not be on as direct a road to heaven in the Catholic as in the Protestant Church; and we think such had better not read it if they are not prepared to exchange their old pastors and pews. From the fact that our friend Donahoe is so well disposed to patronize the ladies, and from certain other internal evidence of an agreeable character, we should have come to the conclusion that "The Triumphs of Duty" is the production of a lady, had we not met with a few such remarks as the following: "I was born unexpectedly, to the great joy of my parents, when they were advanced in life; other children followed me, but did not survive their birth."—(P. 12.) We may be mistaken, however, and so we leave the reader to judge for himself by examining the book.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Insurance Reports and Papers for last Quarter. September, 1863.

There are much greater fluctuations in the insurance business than the most intelligent would be willing to believe. In order to understand this, it is necessary to bear in mind that the underwriters who cheat the public most, give regular salaries to persons whose sole business it is, so far as they are concerned, to exaggerate their capital, assets, &c., and to abuse all who attempt to expose their charlatanism. Vituperation enough, of the most scurrilous kind, has been heaped upon us for attempting to warn the public against being swindled

by these means; but it has not had the least effect in deterring us from what we regard as our incumbent duty, as public journalists and critics; nor will it in the future. We do not, indeed, pretend to be infallible; but we trust we will make no charge against any one which we do not honestly believe, on having carefully examined the facts, to be well founded; and should we fall into error at any time, so as to do injustice to any party, our pages would be open to him to fully vindicate himself, the only condition being that he do so in the language of decency and moderation.

We presume it is needless for us to repeat again that we do not regard all Insurance Companies as cheats, or that we are not opposed to the principle of insurance. We entertain no such idea. On the contrary, none have more confidence than we in legitimate underwriting; but we sincerely believe that two-thirds of the Insurance Companies, home and foreign, doing business in New York, deliberately swindle the public on as large a scale as they can. Nor do we allege that they are all new companies whose standard of morality is thus low; for this would be a glaring, as well as a gross injustice to at least three or four companies that are comparatively new, but vastly more honest and reliable than an equal number we could mention that are old enough, so to speak, to be their grandfathers. In illustration of this fact, we may give an instance or two: Thus, the Washington Insurance Company of this city, (not the Washington Life,) which dates only since 1851, has done as much business, in proportion to its capital, (\$400,000,) and been as prompt and cheerful in the payment of its liabilities, as the oldest company in New York. It has been distinguished for the same characteristics since its origin, and it is pleasant to observe that it has not been the less prosperous on this account, but the contrary, as may be seen from the following figures. Its original capital was only \$200,000. During the first eight years it paid \$288,000 in dividends, and yet its capital had doubled in 1860—that is, it had increased to \$400,000. In short, a company that has made two dividends of 60 per cent. to its policy-holders in so brief a period, and whose gross premiums for the year ending January 31, 1863, amounted to \$204,193, of which \$84,129 remained unexpired at the close of the year, cannot be regarded otherwise than in a flourishing and useful condition. Similar remarks, but slightly modified, will apply to the Hope Fire Insurance Company of New York, which is still younger than the Washington, having been first organized in 1856, but whose President, Mr. Jacob Reese, possesses the ability, energy, and experience to outstrip the oldest. There is yet another company—the Columbian Marine Insurance—younger than either, whose success, resulting from the persevering exercise of similar qualities, has scarcely a parallel. In illustration of this, suffice it to say, that it has doubled its cash capital since January last, so that it now amounts to \$1,000,000—the total assets amounting June 2,

1863, to \$2,608,651.03, minus losses adjusted and paid. No wonder that the directors have promoted its Secretary to the rank of Vice-President: if they could promote the President to a higher position than he already occupies, it would be their duty, as we are sure it would be their disposition to do so.

But there are other new companies too much like new wine, with the exception that the latter has an agreeable flavor even the first day, and improves according as it grows old. This cannot be said, we fear, of the New Amsterdam Fire Insurance Company, which commenced its existence in 1853, and which, it is thought, it would be as well for the public had it never existed at all. Be this as it may, it seems that on the 31st of December last its capital was confessedly impaired in the ratio of 1.25 per cent. Some account for this by saying that the Directors are very good men and mean well, but that the President is dyspeptic to such an extent that, although his name is *Manners*, he is rather unmannerly to his customers. But a similar explanation will not do in the case, for instance, of the Metropolitan Fire Insurance Company, whose President is a little too polite, if there is any fault to be found on that ground. We will not say that if Mr. Lorimer Graham made fewer fine speeches than he does, that the business interests of the Company would be the better for it. At all events, the Company's capital is marked by the State Superintendent of Insurance as "impaired" to the extent of 2.03 per cent.

The ostensible objects of the Metropolitan are, we believe, the same as those of the Mercantile Mutual Insurance Company, established in 1812; but we know no company more prosperous than the latter; no one whose policy we should rather hold in the event of our house or ship being destroyed. But Mr. Ellwood Walter is neither dyspeptic nor garrulous, but a shrewd, thoughtful business man; who, however, does not possess the less genuine politeness for being even scrupulously attentive to the interests of those whom he represents.

There is still a large amount of Barnumism in New York Life Insurance. We confess that to us the "Circulars to Policy Holders," published in the country papers and signed "F. S. Winston, President," seem veritable curiosities, and deserve to be preserved in our Museum as such. The miracles to which they so persistently allude may be genuine; but we confess that we entertain some doubts on the subject. The Manhattan Life has been rather unfortunate lately. We are informed that the \$2,500 for which it has been sued, and which it has had to pay, the jury having found a verdict in favor of the plaintiff, has done it considerable injury; although we cannot say whether it is by diminishing its available funds, or by the effect of the trial on its reputation. We hope that in either case it will be able to recuperate in a short time; but only on the condition that in future it will avoid as much as possible involving its policy-holders in expen-

sive law-suits. In all general criticisms which we make on Life Companies, we mean to except the New York Life Insurance Company, because we have good reason to believe that it honestly deserves the distinction. Its assets amount now to nearly \$3,000,000; and we have never known it to dispute a legitimate claim, but to pay the money when it becomes due not only promptly, but cheerfully. It is but fair to say, that we always mean to make a similar exception in the case of the New England Mutual Life Insurance Company. Indeed, the name of Judge Phillips, its President, would be a sufficient guarantee for reliableness and integrity to all who know him; and he is well represented in this city by Mr. Hopper, whose greatest fault, we believe, is his being perhaps a little overzealous in forwarding the interests of the Company.

The American Publisher's Circular and Literary Gazette. Philadelphia: George W. Childs.

We have carefully examined several numbers of this semi-monthly periodical, and we do not hesitate to say that it is the best publication of its kind we have ever seen, either in Europe or America. By this, we do not mean to compare it to works which are not the organs of any fraternity or profession; although we cheerfully admit that there are many such to which it is superior in the ability with which it is conducted, and the multifarious variety and interest of the topics which it treats. We are under no compliment whatever to the present publisher of the "Publisher's Circular;" but we trust we are not the less willing to do him justice on this account; and we could not do so without bearing testimony to the manliness and enterprising spirit of which every number of his periodical contains more or less unmistakable evidence.

Although the work is confessedly the organ of the book-publishers, Mr. Childs does not shrink from criticising those of the fraternity whom he thinks deserve it. If he does not inflict chastisement on the delinquents by name, he does so in a manner sufficiently pointed to leave but little doubt of the party alluded to. We ventured ourselves in our last (June) number to make some comments upon the alleged conduct of a certain Philadelphia house, while reviewing one of its publications, in the course of which we quoted the following observation: "The last time I was in Philadelphia, one of the most respectable booksellers in Chestnut Street complained indignantly that, in order to receive as much transient custom as they could, *they sold their books at retail at the same rate they sold them to the trade.*" We had good reason to believe that this was but too true. Then, in the next number of the "Publisher's Circular" which we take up, (that dated July 15,) we find our testimony in the case fully corroborated. From a long and sensible article on the subject we take the following extract:

"We regret to be obliged to confess that recent exceptional instances have been brought to our notice in which even the publisher has entered into competition with his own retail buyers, and by underselling, sought to stigmatize them as extortionate in their prices, and to drive them from the market by selling at cheaper rates himself. For instance, he will publish a book at one dollar and a quarter, supply the trade at a discount based upon that price, and then while his retail buyers are furnishing it to their customers at the regular price, the publisher is caught selling it at his counter for one dollar! In other words, he sells an article based on a price fixed by himself, and then, for his own additional emolument, does his best to render it valueless in the hands of his vendees. *This sinks far below the lowest morals of horse-jockeying.* It is not only duplicity, but a *self-debasement sacrificing manhood to mammon*, and proclaiming that honor has gone out of the infatuated devotee of greed; it is not a fraud varnished over by some specious show of principle, but one which displays at first sight its true color as a *cheat, all meanness.* We can easily imagine a state of facts in which one of these *piratical publishers*, by publicly holding out to the community a particular price as that which he has affixed to a book, and by declaring to a buyer that he himself and others retail at that price, could, when a purchase has been made in reliance upon these representations, be convicted for obtaining money under false pretences, on proof of the falsity of the statements by which the sale was effected."—P. 227.

We received not fewer than *twenty-nine* copies of the *Circular* containing this article, from nearly as many cities and towns, with the paragraph we have quoted marked, and the name of the firm to which we had alluded written in full on the margin, and connected by a heavy line with the word "publisher." If the party alluded to were really guilty, may we not hope that in future they will not set their heart so much on a matter of five cents, or even ten, in the price of a book, which, if an improvement be not made in that respect also, would be too dear at any price?

Discourse Commemorative of the Services and Character of Rev. John C. Gullin, D.D., late Pastor of the German Evangelical Mission Church, New York. Preached by Appointment of the Classis of New York, on the 29th March, 1863, in the Church on Lafayette Place. By ISAAC FERRIS, D.D., Chancellor of the University of the City of New York.

We regret that the pamphlet containing this excellent oration was mislaid soon after its receipt, by one of several friends to whom we were induced to lend it, so that now, when it is found again, we can do little more than allude to it. For those who know Dr. Ferris, this, indeed, will be sufficient; and we trust there are few of our readers who are not acquainted, at least by reputation, with one who, altogether independently of his writings and discourses, has done so much for the cause of education and literature. As the Chancellor of the University of New York, and the President of the Ferris Female Seminary, his influence has been widely felt.

Nor is that now before us the first discourse of his which it has been our privilege to examine for the benefit of our readers. A similar oration, commemorative of the life and character of the late Dr. George W. Bethune, which we reviewed in our number for September, 1862, availing ourselves of copious extracts,* is one of the most

* See pp. 377-380.

eloquent and most instructive addresses of the kind with which we are acquainted in any modern language. Nor is that under consideration inferior to it in any particular. It has been published by the Board of Publication of the Protestant Reformed Dutch Church, on the joint request of the Consistory of the German Evangelical Mission Church and the Classis of New York; a fact which of itself would be sufficient evidence that it is no ordinary effort.

Nouvelles Etudes, Critiques et Biographiques. PAR JEAN LEMOINNE.
Paris: Michel Lévy Frères. 1863.

The author of this volume is little known in this country; and there are but few of his countrymen who deserve to be better known. As a contributor to the principal periodicals of Paris, he has exercised considerable influence on public opinion during the last ten years; and his views have always a wholesome tendency, because always liberal and candid. His essay on the Duke of Wellington, in the volume before us, does him great honor; so willing is he to do full justice to the hero of Waterloo that, did he not write in a foreign language, he might readily be taken for an Englishman. Having assured his readers that he has no disposition to depreciate the Duke, he describes him as follows: "He was so honest, so upright, so true, that that which in others would be called skepticism, or apostasy, was in him virtue and disinterestedness," &c.—(P. 138.) What higher praise could his favorite aid-de-camp or secretary have bestowed on him than this? And our author is equally frank and manly in speaking of Waterloo. "To try to hide that *large* wound," he says, "by a deceiving bandage, would be weakness; it would not cover it; it would not conceal either its depth or its glory, *nor would it stop the blood.*"—(P. 125.) Our author's views of Sir Robert Peel are expressed with equal frankness; although his estimate of the statesman is by no means so high as that of the general. M. Lemoine is, indeed, not always correct in his views of foreign politics; on the contrary, he is often ludicrously wrong. But when we are most inclined to smile at his mode of accounting for certain peculiarities which attracted his attention in England, we are forced to admit that if he does not instruct us, or give us any new thoughts, he at least entertains us. In short, his book is the most attractive of its kind we have examined in a long time.

Fish Culture: A Practical Guide to the Modern System of Breeding and Rearing Fish. By FRANCIS FRANCIS. London: Routledge. 1863.

This is a much more curious and instructive book than the title would imply to the casual reader. It shows how the ova may be impregnated by artificial means; and gives full directions for removing the spawn, nourishing the young fry, &c. Those having ponds are taught how they can people them in the most satisfactory manner, and at least expense. The author's suggestions on the rearing of salmon alone, would be a sufficient recommendation to the book.

Histoire Parlementaire de France. Recueil complète des Discours prononcés dans les Chambres de 1819 à 1848. Par M. GUIZOT. Vols. I. and II. London: Williams & Norgate. 1863.

We can do little more on the present occasion than simply to state the fact, that the veteran statesman and author has added two more volumes to his contributions to the history of modern Europe; for, although the *times* before us are devoted mainly to what took place in the French Chambers during the period indicated, like all Guizot's works, they embrace all Europe in their scope—nay, indeed, all parts of the world that can claim a share in European civilization. In his introductory essay, M. Guizot has the characteristic manliness to deny that France has by any means renounced her aspirations for political freedom. At present, he tells us, she is merely biding her time. He does not seem to think, however, that there will be any revolution during the lifetime of Napoleon III.; but he intimates that it would be different were it not that the present emperor, whatever may be his faults, understands the people of France sufficiently to know that absolute sovereign as he is, he could not infringe much on their liberties, without placing his throne in jeopardy. No matter what subject the venerable author of "Civilization in Europe" takes up, he is sure to trace results to their causes, however remote those causes may be. Accordingly, he goes back in the present instance to the first revolution, and shows its connection with, and bearing upon the revolutions of 1830 and 1848. This part of the work will be particularly interesting to the student of history, for it is characterized by that depth of thought, freedom of discussion, and cogency of argument, which have secured at home and abroad, in America as well as in Europe, for the author's previous works the *fiat* of excellence and permanency.

Lost and Saved. By the Hon. Mrs. Norton. London: Hurst & Blackett. 1863.

This work is not likely to make much addition to the fame of the author of "The Sorrows of Rosalie." Not that it is by any means an ordinary production. Indeed, nothing of a vulgar character could have emanated from the pen of Mrs. Norton. Yet, "Lost and Saved," with all its attractions, its graphic descriptions, brilliant dialogues, and striking portraiture of character, scarcely does her justice. One reason for this is, that she undertook it to please her friend, Lord Essex, to whom she dedicates the book, as follows: "I once jested with you, as to your notions of charm and perfection in woman, and told you I would some day create a heroine on that model, and bring her to grief in a novel." It is certainly an agreeable task to examine, as we have done, how well she has succeeded in this. A more charming

portraiture than the heroine Beatrice Brooke is seldom met with in a modern novel; but she has one grave fault; she is too confiding—too ready to sacrifice her virtue, if indeed she can be said to possess sufficient of it for the ordeals which one at once so beautiful in person and so gifted in mind as she, is sure to pass through. At all events, she is inveigled into a false marriage, and then deserted.

Lady Nesdale is altogether a different character. The latter is deceitful and intriguing by choice—it is the habit of her life; but her cunning and wealth enable her to maintain her position in society as if she were faithful and virtuous. Another striking portraiture is that of the Marchioness Updown; but for the present, we must leave the reader to discover the rest for himself.

Recherches sur l'origine de plusieurs souverains d'Europe. Par le
BARON DE BOEHNE. London: Williams & Norgate. 1863.

Those who wish to form an opinion of the origin of the divine right of kings, would do well to read this volume. Although the author is a firm believer in the monarchical principle, and thinks that a king or emperor is something more than a mere mortal, he unwittingly discloses some secrets which go far to prove the reverse of his doctrine. Nor would it be difficult to show that one-half of the sovereigns, whose pedigrees he pretends to give, have a much more recent origin as representatives of families than he assigns them. Thus, for instance, he uses an elaborate argument to prove that Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, is descended in a direct line from Kerdic, who arrived in Britain A. D. 494; and that the same blood courses in her veins which prompted the Emperor Charlemagne to such noble deeds. The genealogy of the house of Hapsburgh is traced still further back; whereas, the Bourbons—because their sun seems to have set—receive little attention in any way; and the inference from the comparatively brief passage devoted to them would be—if they were not sufficiently known independently of the Baron's "*Recherches*"—that they are but upstarts of the last generation. The work teaches one good lesson, however: it shows that in nine cases out of ten, the ruler of the royal or imperial family who was a true upstart, was the greatest of all; in other words, that the "new man" was the best man, since, however mean had been his antecedents, he was the founder of the family dynasty.

SELECT NEW PUBLICATIONS,

AMERICAN AND FOREIGN.

- The Social Condition and Education of the People in England. By Joseph Kay, Esq., M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge. Barrister-at-Law, and late Travelling Bachelor of the University of Cambridge. 12mo. New York: Harpers. 1863.
- Die Philosophie der Kirchen Väter. Von Dr. Johannes Huber, a. o. Professor der Philosophie an der Universität München. London: Williams & Norgate.
- On Liberty. By John Stuart Mill. 12mo, pp. 223. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.
- Cours d'Economie Politique. Par M. G. De Molinari. Seconde Edition. Tome I. Bruxelles: La Croix et Cie. 1863.
- Sisterhoods in the Church of England; with Notices of some Charitable Sisterhoods in the Romish Church. By Margaret Goodman, author of the experiences of an English Sister of Mercy. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1863.
- The Bivouac and the Battle-Field; or, Campaign Sketches of Virginia and Maryland. By Captain George F. Noyes. 12mo. New York: Harpers. 1863.
- La Ménagerie Littéraire. Par Poitre Artamov (le Comte de la Fite.) 18mo. Paris: Michel Lévy Frères.
- Li Livres don Trésor. Par Brunetto Latini, publié pour la première fois. 4to. Paris: Firmin, Didot & Ce. Collection de documents inédits sur l'Histoire de France.
- African Hunting from Natal to the Zambesi, including Lake Ngami, the Kalahari Desert, &c., from 1852 to 1860. By William Charles Baldwin, Esq., F. R. G. S., &c. Illustrated by James Wolf and G. B. Zwecker. 12mo, pp. 397. Maps. New York: Harpers.
- L'Angleterre et la Vie Anglaise. Par A. Esquiros. Troisième Série. Paris: Collection Hetzel. London: D. Nutt.
- The Every-Day Philosopher in Town or Country. By the Author of the "Recreations of a Country Parson." 12mo, pp. 320. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.
- Les Matinees Mozales, ou l'Art de Megner. Opuscule inédit de Frédéric II. dit le Grand, Roi de Prusse. London: Williams & Norgate. 1863.
- Harper's Hand-Book for Travellers in Europe and the East: being a Guide through France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Austria, Italy, Sicily, Egypt, Syria, Turkey, Greece, Switzerland, Tyrol, Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Spain, and Great Britain and Ireland. By W. Pembroke Petridge. With a Map embracing Colored Routes of Travel in the above Countries, and a new Railroad Map. Revised and Enlarged Edition. Large 12mo. New York: Harpers. 1863.
- China from a Medical Point of View in 1860-61. By C. A. Gordon, M. D., C. B., Deputy Inspector of Hospitals, Army Department. London: J. Churchill. 1863.
- Two Friends. By the Author of "The Patience of Hope" and "A Present Heaven." 12mo, pp. v., 167. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.
- Vortrage und Reden Kunsthistorischen Inhalts. Von Ernst Guhl aus seinem Nachlasse. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1863.

- A Present Heaven. Addressed to a Friend. By the Author of "The Patience of Hope." 12mo, pp. v., 172. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.
- La Question Italienne.—No. 1. Réponse à la Lettre de M. de la Guérisonnière. Par le Chevalier D. A. E. Wollheim de Fonseca. Leipzig: W. Gerhard. London: Williams & Norgate.
- Hooker's Natural Philosophy. Science for the School and Family. Part I. Natural Philosophy. By Worthington Hooker, M.D., Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in Yale College, Author of "The Child's Book of Nature," "Natural History," "First Book in Chemistry," &c. Illustrated by nearly 300 Engravings. 12mo. New York: Harpers. 1863.
- The Weakness and Inefficiency of the Government of the United States of America. By a late American Statesman. Edited by a Member of the Middle Temple. London: Houlston & Wright. 1863.
- Meditations on Death and Eternity. Translated from the German by Frederica Rowan. 8vo, pp. vii., 144. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.
- Don Carlos et Philippe II. Par Charles de Moüy. London: D. Nutt. 1863.
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